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LA JUSTICE COUTUMIERE CHEZ LES BAKWA LUNTU

PAR G. BRAUSCH

INTRODUCTION :

Les renseignements consignés dans la présente étude ont été annotés chez les Bena Kalombo, une subdivision des Bana ba Lusobe, qui est la tribu la plus importante des Bakwa Luntu et probablement aussi la plus typique de cette peuplade.

L'habitat des Bakwa Luntu s'étend entre les paralèles 5° Sud et 6° Sud, et entre les méridiens 29°30' E et 30°30' E ; ils occupent tout le centre et tout le sud du territoire de Dimbelenge.

Ils semblent être le résultat d'un brassage de plusieurs vagues de migrations, mais où l'élément Luba domine, de même que chez les populations environnantes : Babindji, Bakwa Mputu, Baluba Bambo et Lulua.

Ils situent leur berceau au Nsanga ya Lubangu, où, vers la moitié du 18 ème siècle, se sont réunis tous les révoltés fuyant le terrible et interminable "*bukalanga*" (=guerre) des "*Bakongolo*" et des "*Bankundu*" qui soumirent à leur autorité quasi l'entièreté de l' immense province du Katanga.

Tout en étant d'origine Luba et quoique certaines particularités de leurs moeurs les font ressembler aux Baluba Bambo, ils possèdent des habitudes et coutumes qui leur sont propres et les distinguent nettement des premiers. Il en est ainsi de leurs coutumes judiciaires.

CHAPITRE I

DROIT COUTUMIER DES BAKWA LUNTU :

1. *Droit Social :*

Comme chez la plupart des populations environnantes : Babindji, Bakwa Mputu, Baluba Bambo et Lulua, le régime social des Bakwa Luntu est le patriarcat.

Le premier échelon de la société dans les communautés Bakwa Luntu est le "*diuku*" ou "*kabelo ka dilolo*" (famille naturelle). Ce noyau social n'a toutefois aucune organisation propre et n'existe qu'en tant que subdivision du "*mbelo*" (famille au sens étendu), qui doit être considéré comme l'unité sociale fondamentale, où apparaisent les premières manifestations sociales.

La réunion des "*mbelo*" ayant un ancêtre commun forme un "*tshifuku*" (clan) et les "*bifuku*" de même souche forment le "*tshisamba*" (groupe de clans).

C'est dans le "*tshifuku*" qu'apparaissent les premières manifestations politiques, qui n'atteignent toutefois leur épanouissement complet que dans le "*ditunga*" (tribu).

"*Tshisamba*" et "*ditunga*" sont des groupements de nature différente ; le premier est un groupement social, le second est un groupement politique. Il arrive parfois que "*tshisamba*" et "*ditunga*" se juxtaposent ; plus souvent le "*tshisamba*" s'étend sur plusieurs "*matunga*" et le "*ditunga*" se composera des fractions de plusieurs "*bisamba.*"

Parfois cet émiettement est tellement avancé que le "*ditunga*" se compose d'une multitude de petits groupes d'origines disparates dont la réunion forme des "*biota bisanga*" (=foyers réunis).

La socité mukwa Luntu est régie par trois lois fondamentales.

La première est *le droit d'aînesse* ("*bukulu*") qui se formule par une triple règle :

" les membres d'une génération ont prééminence sur ceux des générations suivantes."

" dans une même génération l'aîné à prééminence sur ses cadets."

" a chaque échelon social, la communauté aînée a prééminence sur les communautés cadettes."

La seconde est *la loi de l'exogamie :* le marriage entre membres d'un même "*tshifuku*" est strictement prohibé.

Toute infraction à cette interdiction est considérée comme un inceste., et est classé avec l'adultère et le viol dans les "*malu a tshibindji*,"

qu'on peut définir le mieux : " les infractions aux relations sexuelles," ou comme Son Exc. Monseigneur DECLERCQ l'explique dans son dictionnaire Luba-Francais : " tout acte défendu dans les relations entre enfants nubiles ou déjà mariés et leurs parents, entre alliés et beaux-parents ; ces défenses ont pour but de protéger les bonnes moeurs ; de leur violation résultent de grosses palabres, ainsi que des maladies et la mort."

Tout mâle qui commet un acte de " *tshibindji* " est condamné à payer une chèvre en dommages à la " *mwena mukashi* " (mari de la femme mariée, ou père ou tuteur de la femme ou jeune femme non mariée) et une chèvre aux " *bena musoko* " (la communauté) qui la dégusteront au cours des rites magico religieux de purification, nécessaires pour conjurer les mauvais sorts que cette infraction pourrait attirer sur la clan.

La femme n'est pas condamnée, mais il n'y a pas de doute que l'époux ne réserve jamais un accueil très tendre à sa compagne infidèle, ce qui aux yeux des indigènes vaut plus qu'une condamnation judiciare.

Enfin, la troisième loi qui regit la société Mukwa Luntu est *la loi de solidarité :*

Tous les membres du mbelo et même souvent du tshifuku sont solidairement responsables des actes ou des fautes commis par un des leurs.

Le préjudice causé à un membre d'un groupe social par un étranger est ressenti collectivement. Sa réparation est poursuivie éventuellement par la force (coutume du " *lukole* ") et même par les armes (*mvita*=guerre judiciaire, à ne pas confondre avec la guerre politique=*bukalanga*).

2. *Droit familial :*

Le mariage :

Seulement l'union conjugale contractée après paiement de la " *luselu* " (dot) par le mâle a le caractère d'un mariage.

Le père, ou à défaut, l'oncle paternel, le frère aîné ou le cousin aîné remettra à l'adolescent les " *biuma bia disela* " (biens destinés à l'acquisition d'une femme en mariage). La " *disela* " (remise de la dot) sera effectuée au père, ou à défaut à l'oncle paternel, le frère aîné ou le cousin aîné de la femme désirée comme épouse. Souvent l'oncle maternel interviendra également partiellement dans le versement de la dot de son " *muipwa*' (neveu par la soeur), mais en compensation il a le droit de toucher une partie de toute dot reçue pour ses nièces " *muipwa.*"

La dot était aussi importante jadis que maintenant, soit la valeur de dix chèvres ce qui équivaut dans notre monnaie à frs. 1.000,—.

Elle se payait en chèvres, moutons, cochons, chiens, madiba, (nattes de raphia), tukula (écorce d'arbre dont ils fabriquent une poudre rouge dont ils s'enduisent le corps), sel végétal, sel minéral (*ntondo*), etc. . . . .

En outre de la " *mukashi museluu* " (épouse dotée), existe aussi la " *mukashi mupika,*" la femme esclave qui fut achetée. A en croire les Bakwa Luntu cette coutume est originaire des Baluba-Bambo, qui venaient souvent chez les Bakwa Luntu pour vendre certaines de leurs femmes afin de s'acquitter de dettes. J'ai observé toutefois que cette coutume est également pratiquée parmi les Bakwa Luntu du Nord qui se rendent fréquemment chez leurs voisins Bakuba pour y vendre des femmes.

Les Bakwa Luntu sont généralement monogames, mais la polygamie est tolérée et même très appréciée attendu qu'elle indique le degré de richesse de l'homme.

La femme épousée en premier lieu, la " *mukashi muadi* " détient des privilèges et ses enfants, même lorsqu'ils sont postérieus aux enfants des autres femmes, passeront toujours avant pour les successions.

La seconde femme est la " *mukashi a mpungu* " ; la troisième et les suivantes sont " *tshindondi,*" la derniére est la " *mukashi mukala wa nyima.*"

La femme prendra résidence chez son époux : c'est une habitude, mais non pas une obligation ; il arrivera souvent que le mari préfèrera s'installer chez ses beaux parents, n'ayant lui-même plus de parents, ou ne s'accordant pas avec les siens.

La mariage peut être dissous, soit par la mort d'un des conjoints ; soit par le divorce ou la répudiation.

En cas de décès du mari, la veuve peut être héritée par le proche parent du défunt, mais elle est libre de le répudier et de réintégrer son clan

après les deuils, à la condition que ses proches parents veuillent rembourser la dot suivant les règles de la coutume ; les enfants resteront à charge de leur mère jusqu'à leur adolescence et retourneront ensuite chez l'héritier de leur père.-

En cas de décès de l'épouse, le veuf peut soit demander aux parents de la défunte de la remplacer par sa soeur ou une autre femme du clan, soit exiger le remboursement de la dot suivant les règles de la coutume. Les enfants mineurs issus du mariage sont éduqués par la grand'mère paternelle ou maternelle ou une des tantes d'après les circonstances.

Le divorce par consentement mutuel existe, il s'exécute par la séparation pure et simple des conjoints sans aucune formalité, si ce n'est la restitution de la dot au mari.

La répudiation de la femme peut avoir lieu pour méconduite, stérilité, adultère, négligence dans le ménage, ou toute autre cause qui déplaise au mari.

La femme peut répudier son mari pour impuissance, stérilité, maladie, mauvais traitements, manque d'assistance dans le ménage ou manque d'égards (construction case en bon état, apport de fruits palmistes, cadeaux etc. . . . .) ou non paiement du reliquat de la dot. Jamais la femme ne peut demander le divorce en vertu d'adultère de la part de son mari.

En cas de dissolution du mariage la dot sera remboursée intégralement ou en partie, d'après la durée de l'union, dans le cas ou la femme n'a pas engendré d'enfants.

Dans les autres cas, le montant de la dot à rembourser est calculé à prorata des enfants encore en vie, issus de ce mariage, la coutume n'exigeant plus le remboursement de la dot lorsque la femme engendra trois enfants ; ou plus.

Les enfants resteront chez leur mère jusqu'à leur adolescence et retourneront ensuite chez leur père.

Les Bakwa Luntu n'appliquent pas la coutume Mubindji et Mukwa Mputu, réduisant dans le cas de divorce le montant de la dot à rembourser d'une chévre lorsque la femme entra vierge (" *mushika nkunde* ") dans le mariage et fut défloréе par son mari.

Liens de parenté et d'alliance :

(a) *Parenté directe dans le clan paternel et maternel,*

munkambwe=ancêtre
nyinkulula=père ou mère du tshinyinkanyinka
tshinyinkanyinka=grand arrière grand père ou mère
Nyinka=grand-père ou mère
tatu munene=grand-père
mamu munene=grand'mère
tatu=père
mamu=mère
mwana=enfant
nyinkani=petit enfant
wetu mwana=arrière petit enfant

(b) *Parenté collatérale dans le clan paternel :*

tatu mukwabu=oncle paternel
tatu mukulu=oncle paternel aîné
tatu mwakunyi=oncle paternel cadet
mangashi=tante paternelle

(c) *Parenté collatérale dans le clan maternel :*

manseba=oncle paternel
mungamamu=tante maternelle

Les liens d'alliance :

la femme appelle son mari " *baya* "
le mari appelle sa femme " *mukashi* "
tatu muenu=beau-père
mamu muenu=belle-mère
bunkonde=beau-frère, belle-soeur
muke=beau-fils, belle fille

Les enfants issus d'un mariage appartiennent clan du père en vertu du régime patriarcal, mais malgré tout l' adolescent à la lattitude d'aller résider chez son " *manseba* " et ce sera souvent le cas lorsque tous les oncles paternels seront décédés.

L'orphelin (*mwana nshiya*) sera recueilli par un des oncles paternels ou maternels qui deviendra son " *mudizi* " (tuteur). C'est au " *mudizi* " que viendra ultérieurement la grasse partie de la dot payée pour la jeune fille dont il eut la garde pendant son enfance, s'étant dépensé à lui donner une éduction et à la nourrir.

3. *Droit Foncier et Mobilier :*

La terre appartient au clan, c.à.d. la collectivité des vivants et des défunts descendant d'un ancêtre commun, souvent eponyme, de ce fait elle est inaliénable.—

Les vivants n'ont qu'un droit d'usufruit sur les terres qu'ils habitent et cultivent mais ils ne peuvent ni les vendre, ni les abandonner en propriété à quiconque. Nous nous sommes rendu toutefois compte qu'à l'egard du travail y exécuté un terrain en jachère sera toujours repris par son premier occupant. Le chef de clan, "*mukulu*" —détient les droits de propriété foncière dans les limites énuméres ci-dessus, c.à.d. c'est lui qui fera la répartition des terres, c'est lui qui construira le premier sa case à un nouvel emplacement, c'est lui qui choisira les terres de cultures d'après les directives que lui donnent les "ancêtres."

Tout homme est propriétaire de ses armes, ustensiles, meubles, produits de culture et en général tous les objets meubles. La femme est propriétaire de ses ustensiles de ménage (potterie, vannerie, etc. . .) et a le droit de les emporter le jour qu'elle quitte son mari, mais son mari est propriétaire des produits du champ qu'elle cultive.

L'héritage se fait d'après les règles ordinaires de succession appliquées chez toutes les peuplades à succession patriarcale, c.à.d. d'abord le père et les oncles paternels suivant leur ordre de naissance, ensuite les frères suivant leur ordre de naissance et enfin les cousins. Les femmes ne sont pas exclues des succession, elles héritent souvent de leur frère et profitent de l'entièreté d'une succession à défaut d' héritier mâle et idoine si elle est la seule proche parent du défunt.

4. *Droit Pénal :*

Les délits de droit commun étaient peu nombreux jadis, c'était surtout l'envoûtement (*buloshi*) qui occupait les séances de leurs juridictions.

Les autres infractions prévues étaient principalement le meurtre, les coups et blessures, les vols et tromperies, et les "*malu a Tshibindji.*"

Les prévenus de sorcellerie ou d'envoûtement étaient soummis à l'ordalie, consistant dans l'épreuve du poison (*tshipapa*) ; pour y échapper le coupable reconnaissait souvent son forfait et se voyait condamné à de fortes amendes et indemnités ou même à donner un des membres de sa famille pour remplacer la victime du mauvais sort. Si l'accusé mourait des suites de l'ordalie, ses héritiers se voyaient encore contraints à payer de fortes indemnités aux parents de la victime, allant jusqu'à 10 chèvres.

Le meutre (*ntombueshi*) était puni de la pendaison (*diowa*), à moins que le coupable ne rembourse à la famille du défunt une femme ou un enfant de sa parenté qui prenait la place de la victime au sein de sa famille, et était considéré dès lors comme un des leurs.

Pour l'expiation de son crime il devait payer en outre à la communauté de fortes amendes allant jusqu'à la valeur de 10 chèvres.

Le vol était reprimé par une amende dont le montant était fixé en rapport de l'importance du délit ; une partie était versée à la victime à titre de dommage et l'autre aux "*bena musoko.*"

Les blessures étaient punies d'une amende dont l'importance dépendait de la gravité des plaies, le coupable était en outre astreint à offrir à sa victime une poule, appelée "*nzolo wa tshinkoshi*" genre de D. I. pour la blessure, pour effacer son acte indigne.

CHAPITRE III.— ORGANISATION JUDICIAIRE DES BAKWA LUNTU

Les Juges :

Les Bakwa Luntu nous citent comme dignitaires investis de fonctions judiciares le "*ndumbulula*" et le "*mulumbuludi.*" Cette dignité n'était pas l'apanage d'une seule lignée et n'était donc pas hériditaire. C'était l'assemblée du village ou du clan, le "*masambakanyi*" qui désignait un homme doué d'intelligence, connaissuer de la coutume, disposant d'un organe vocal puissant et sachant grâce à ces qualités imposer le respect de ses sentences aux sujets du village. Ce choix était ratifié par le Chef.

Notons toutefois que la sentence de ces "*balumbuludi*" ou "*bandumbulula*" devait toujours être fortement influencée par l'opinion publique, toute la population du village suivant attentivement les péripéties de l'action judiciaire et comme il est l'habitude chez les primitifs, donnant son opinion bruyamment.

Si la sentence du "*mulumbuludi*" ou "*ndumbulula*" ne plaisait pas à une des parties en

cause, on interjettait appel auprès du chef qui tranchait l'affaire en dernière instance.

Les Bakwa Luntu déclarent, qu'il n' y a pas de différence entre les termes "*mulumbuludi*" et "*ndumbulula*" et que tous deux déterminent des fonctions identiques. et seraient donc synonymes, mais ils semblent préférer le terme "*mulumbuludi.*"

L'investiture à la dignité de "*mulumbuludi*" ou "*ndumbulula*" ne donnait lieu à aucun versement obligatoire, mais il était de coutume que pour fêter sa nomination le notable investi tint un festin au village.

Il n'y a pas d'insignes propres à la fonction de "*mulumbuludi.*"

Les juges étaient soutenus dans leurs fonctions par le "*kalama*" qui était chargé de la convocation des prévenus et témoins et de la garde des prisonniers au "*momba,*" il cumulait donc les fonctions de messager et de gardien de prison.

JURIDICTIONS COMPTETENTES :

1. *Contestations privées entre indigènes :*

A.—*Les deux parties appartiennent au meme clan :*

Le demandeur se rend avec l'aîné de sa famille chez le chef de clan et lui expose sa palabre, celui-ci envoie son "*kalama*" pour convoquer le "*ndumbulula,*" les "*bakulu ba mbelo*" et les autres notables, de même que l'accusé et les témoins. Lorsque tout ce monde est rassemblé le demandeur expose publiquement sa palabre, l'accusé réplique, les témoins confirment, et enfin le "*ndumbulula*" déverse un flot oratoire pour exposer son point de vue et achève par trancher l'affaire.

B.—*Les deux parties appartiennent à des clans différents :*

Le demandeur, flanqué de son chef de clan se rend chez le chef de clan de l'accusé. La même procédure que ci-devant se déroule avec la différence que ce sont les notables des deux clans qui assistent à l'action judiciaire et que les "*balumbudi*" des deux clans tranchent l'affaire.

C.—*L'accusé appartient à un tshisamba étranger:*

Le demandeur, flanqué de son chef de clan ou d'un notable quelconque de son "*tshisamba*" se rend chez le chef de clan de l'accusé qui fait trancher d'après les mêmes modalités que ci-devant. Si le plaignant n'est pas satisfait, il peut aller en appel chez le chef du tshisamba de l'accusé.

Ces juridictions n'étaient pas compétentes lorsqu' il s'agissait de différents ayant entraîné mort d'homme (meurtre ou envoûtement), auquel cas le chef réunissait les "*balumbuludi*" de tout le tshisamba qui se réunissaient en grand conseil et jugeaient souverainement.

C'était la seule juridiction pouvant prononcer la peine capitale.

2. *Contestations privées de notables :*

A.—*Un "mulumbuludi" est partie :*

Même procédure, il ne pouvait siéger et c'était le chef et les autres "*balumbuludi*" qui tranchaient.

B.—*Un chef de clan est partie :*

Même procédure, il ne pouvait siéger et les "*balumbuludi*" tranchaient.

C.—*Deux chefs de "tshisamba" ont une contestation*

Les "*balumbuludi*" des deux groupements se réunissaient et formaient un conseil d'arbitrage ; c'était un évènement très important pour les deux tribus.

REDEVANCES AUX JUGES :

Pour l'introduction du procès, le plaignant remet au chef et aux "*balumbuludi*" une poule appelée "*nzolo wa diyiku*" (d'après dictionnaire Luba-Francais de Son Exc. Mgr. Declercq : *diyiki*=une causette, une causerie, un entretien) ; ce serait donc une poule offerte en reconnaissance de l' entretien accordé. Ensuite le plaignant expose son affaire.

Lorsque l'affaire est tranchée, la partie ayant obtenu gain de cause (=*lusambo*) paie aux "*balumbulubdi*" certains biens dont le nombre dépendra de l'importance de l'affaire jugée, généralement une ou plusieurs chèvres, appelées "*mbushi wa tshikongueshi,*" et que les notables eux-mêmes mettent en parallèle avec les droits proportionnels des juridictions reconnues.

La partie perdante ou condamnée (*mwena tshibau*) paie aux juges le "*kafutshisha,*"—correspondant à nos frais de jugement,—qui était

toujours peu important et ne se composait que de quelques croisettes.

PREUVES DES INFRACTIONS : (bishima)

1. *l'aveu : (=ditonda)*
2. *l'interrogatoire des témoins (=bamoni)*

Tel que la déposition du "*tshibanji*" (entremetteur de mariage) dans les affaires de remboursement de dot.

3. *le serment :*

C'est le serment du léopard (=*butshipu bua nkashama*) qui est en vigueur chez les Bakwa Luntu, comme d'ailleurs chez les Babindji, Bakwa Mputu, Lulua, Baluba, etc. . . .

C'est ici qu'intervient le "*mukelenge wa nkashama*" comme auxiliaire des "*balumbuludi.*" Notons que seulement le "*mufume*" ou "*mubande,*" c'est à dire le "*mukelenge wa nkashama*" investi officiellement par le "*mene*" des Bana ba Ntumba, a le pouvoir de déférer ce serment. La peau de léopard d'un "*tshimikambo*" ou de tout autre notable de la confrérie du léopard est sans valeur. Chez les Bena Kalombo, seulement Kalombo Mukoke fils du chef investi Mwasambuyi détient cette dignité suprême de la confrérie.

Les objets suivants interviennent dans l'exécution du serment.

la peau de léopard d'un "*mufume*" ;
le "*nyindu*" (marteau indigène) du forgeron (=*mutudi*) ;
le "*tshikombelu*" (=*balai*)
le "*lukasu*" (=houe)
du "*luepe lukole*" (sel végétal noirâtre)
et une calebasse d'eau (=*tshilowa*)

Le "*mufume wa nkashama*" dépose sa peau sur des nattes, il prononce des exortations nombreuses d'ordre magico-religieux, dont la formule du serment, et invite le comparant à répéter cette formule. Pendant que le comparant fait sa déposition, le "*mufume wa nkashama*" prend une touffe de poils de la peau et les jette dans la calebasse, il enleve une pincée de sel du bâton et la sème dans l'eau, puis il remue l'eau successivement avec le marteau, la houe et le balai et remet la calebasse au comparant qui en boira quelques gorgées après avoir passé deux fois au dessus de la peau.

Celui qui parjurait et injuriait ainsi l'esprit du léopard devenait à brève échéance la victime de son courrou. Souvent par la simple auto-suggestion il devenait malade et en mourait. Le serment du léopard a encore de nos jours une réelle puissance sur les indigènes Bakwa Luntu et les habitants des environs de Mashala nous racontent que le chef Kapinga Tshinyama des Bena Ngaza, décédé en septembre 1939, est mort parcequ'il a osé parjurer sur la peau du léopard.

Il y a néammoins un moyen d'échapper à l'envoûtement du léopard, c'est de se rendre le même jour chez un "*mukolenge wa nkashama*" et de se faire purifier par celui-ci qui l'enduit de "*lupemba*" (kaolin) et conjure le mauvais sort, mais vu la solidarité existant dans la confrérie, l'aveu était rendu publique et le coupable subissait la sanction méritée de la part de la juridiction compétente.

Pour toute sécurité le "*mufume wa nkashama*" tient toujours pendant quelques jours sous sa garde l'homme à qui il a déféré le serment du léopard afin que celui-ci ne uisse se faire purifier par un "*mukelenge wa nkashama*" de sa parenté et conjurer ainsi le sort.

4. *l'épreuve divinatoire :*

Se fait à l'intervention du "*munganga*" et consiste chez les Bakwa Luntu dans l'épreuve du "*muapi*" ou du "*tshiala mu disu*" ; le comparant est invité à placer dans l'oeil une lamelle de fer. Il se penche ; si le "*tshiala*" tombe il est reconnu innocent, tandis que s' il restait collé à la pupille les "*balumbuludi*" le déclaraient coupable. Il est sans doute inutile d'ajouter que cette épreuve innocente était toujours sollicitée par l'accusé pour faire éclater son innocence.

5. *l'ordalie :*

Consistait chez les Bakwa Luntu dans l'épreuve du poison (=*munuishi wa tshipapa*) à l'intervention du sorcier Elle était appliquée pour les délits de sorcellerie et d'envoûtement et était mortelle.

SANCTIONS COUTUMIERES :

1. *l'exécution capitale par pendaison : (=diowa)*

N'était appliquée que pour le cas de mort d'homme (meurtre ou sorcellerie) et pouvait être rachetée en payant de lourdes indemnités à la famille de la victime.

Il n'y avait pas de bourreau pour l'exécution de la peine capitale ; après la prononciation de la sentence les juges remettaient une corde au condamné et celui-ci était invité à aller se pendre à un arbre de la plaîne environnante. Cette sanction prend donc plutôt l'aspect d'un suicide.

2. *l'emprisonnement :*

Dans le " *momba* " (un appareil constitué par deux pièces de bois, jointes par de fortes chevilles et entre lesquelles est ménagée une ouverture pour passer la jambe). Il était imposible de se déplacer. Cette peine n'était prononcée que contre les débiteurs récalcitrants qui n'en pouvaient sortir que moyennant acquittement des amendes, indemnités ou frais dont ils étaient redevables. C'était le " *kalame* " qui était chargé de l'exécution de cette sentence. La durée de la détention n'était jamais déterminée.

3. *l'amende.*

Remarquons tout d'abord que le terme " *tshibau* " en usage dans la région pour exprimer les amendes des juridictions indigènes reconnues semble être un terme impropre. En effet, d'après les Bena Kalombo le mot " *tshibau* " signifie plutot " prononciation de la peine," ou comme ils l'expliquent dans leur langue : " *diyi dia dipisha*" (=prononciation de la condamnation), bref c'est toute sanction prononcée par les " *balumbuludi,*" aussi bien la pendaison, que l'emprisonnement ou l'amende.

Les amendes prononcées par les " *balumbuludi* " étaient partagées entre le " *mwena nsambo*" à titre d'indemnisation, at aux " *bena musoko* " (la communauté) à parties égales. Notons ici également que pendant longtemps il fut cru que le produit des amendes revenait aux jugues, c'est une erreur, ce produit revenait à toute la communauté, les " *bena musoko* " en expiation du délit.

4. *le fouet :*

N'est pas coutumier en matrière judiciaire, mais la flagellation avec les " *nkɔdi* " était employée our rétablir l'ordre au cours de bagarres dans le village.

5. *la mutilation :*

Est inconnue en matière judiciare, il arrivait parfois que lorsqu' un père fut mécontent d'un de ses enfants, il lui versait du poivre (=*kuela mbeya*) dans les yeux comme châtiment.

6. Se classe également parmi les sanctions judiciaires l' *exécution forcée*, qui prenait deux aspects :

(a) le " *lukole* " (prise en otage de force en nantissement) qui était appliquée aussi bien sur les biens que sur les personnes. L'homme pris en otage était enfermé dans le " *momba.*" Cette coutume était exécute par le plaignant et les membres de sa famille.

(b) *la guerre judiciaire* (*mvita*) *:* était souvent une complication du " *lukolè* " lorsque l'accusé appartenait à un " *tshisamba* " étranger qui prenait partie pour son parent. Eclatait aussi si le conseil d'arbitrage ne parvenait pas à réconcilier deux chefs de " *tshisamba* " en cause dans un procès.

SUMMARY

Customary law of the Bakwa Luntu

The information recorded in the present study refers to the Bena Kalombo, a sub-division of the Bana ba Lusobe, which is the most important tribe and probably also the most typical of this nation.

Although of Luba origin and resembling in certain details of their manners the Baluba Bambo they have habits and customs which are peculiar to them and distinguish them from the former. This is also true of their juridical customs.

As is the case with most of the surrounding peoples the social system of the Bakwa Luntu is patriarchal.

The Mukwa Luntu society is ruled by three basic laws :

1 The birthright ; 2 the exogamy ; 3 the law of solidarity.

Only a conjugal union contracted after payment of the " *luselu* " (dowry) by the man has the character of a marriage.

The Bakwa Luntu are generally monogamous, but polygamy is allowed and even sought since it denotes the degree of wealth of a man. The wife takes up residence with her husband.

Marriage may be dissolved either by the death of husband or wife or by divorce or repudiation.

In case of dissolution of the marriage, the dowry will be returned to the husband.

The children born of the marriage belong to the clan of their father. An orphan will be sheltered by his paternal or maternal uncles.

The land belongs to the clan, i.e. the collectivity of the living and dead, descending from a common ancestor, often eponym. The living have only a right of usufruct on the lands they inhabit and cultivate.

Every male is, however, the proprietor of his arms, implements, furniture, products of culture, and generally all movable estate ; so also each wife is the proprietor of her household implements.

The Bakwa Luntu have also their own penal code to repress infractions of customary law.

The offences of common law were few in olden days ; principally witchcraft (*buloshi*) occupied the sessions of their courts.

II.—*The Juridical Organization of the Bakwa Luntu :*

The Bakwa Luntu mention as dignitaries involved with juridical functions the *balumbuludi*.

If the sentence of the *balumbuludi* did not satisfy one of the parties to the case, he gave notice of appeal to the chief, whose decision was final.

There are different competent courtsz :

1. the court of the clan, which hears in first instance small offences ;

2. the court of the tribe, which sits when one or the two parties to the case are chiefs of a tribe and on appeal ; in the cases of murder or witchcraft.

When the parties to the case belong to different tribes, the court of the tribe of the defender will hear the case.

To institute proceedings, the plaintiff has to give a fowl to the *balumbuludi ;* this is called *nzolo wa diyiku*.

When the law-suit has been settled, the party who won the case (*lusambo*) pays to the *balumbuludi* somme chattels, the number of which will be according to the importance of the settled case, generally one or several goats, hence the name *mbushi wa tshikongueshi*.

The losing party (*mwena tshibau*) pays to the judges the *kafutshisha*, which corresponds with our costs of the case.

The Bakwa Luntu have several ways of proving an offence :—

(a) the avowal (*ditonda*) ; (b) the interrogatory of the witnesses (*bamoni*) ; (c) the oath on the leopard skin (*butshipa bua nkashama*) ; (d) the divinatory test ; (e) the ordeal by poison (*munuishi wa tshipapa*).

The different sanctions which may be applied are : (a) the death sentence by hanging (*diwa*) ; (b) imprisonment ; (c) fine ; (d) the whip ; (e) mutilation ; (f) hostage (*lukole*) ; (g) juridical war (*mvita*), which must be distinguished from political war.

SOME PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CHANGE ILLUSTRATED FROM ZULULAND

By MAX GLUCKMAN

I. Plan of this Paper[1]

Many books and articles on the history and culture of the Zulu have been published, and I myself in three articles have analysed social developments in Zululand since 1775.[2] With the background of all these other works, and my own essays, I feel that I may use my material in more piecemeal fashion, for my use of facts and arguments can be checked against these earlier publications.

This paper is an experiment. Instead of analysing any actual changes which have occurred in Zululand, I attempt to formulate abstractly processes of social change, i.e. certain invariable relations between events in changing social systems. I illustrate these with particular examples from my data on Zulu, but hope they are expressed in forms which will allow them to be applied generally.

I consider that social-anthropological knowledge has reached a point where the continued analysis of particular social systems alone will cease to advance the science, and that we can now formulate abstract relations, divorced from real events. This essay is intended as a contribution to that end. So long as we do not attempt this task we cannot meet the charge that sociology is not scientific: "history studies particular events, but science does not..... Science studies certain relations between particular events."[1]

None of the processes I formulate is illustrated clearly by anything that has happened in Zululand or in the history of any other community, nor does any process alone account for the examples I give. Acts of human behaviour are produced by many types of events and by many types of laws—physical, biological, physiological, psychological, sociological, etc.[2] It is virtually impossible to isolate social events for experiment. I set down this obvious point to protect myself against criticisms that some social process I formulate does not alone and altogether explain the actual events of Zululand history, or that of some other community. I do not pretend that it does. The following processes have only contributed to produce Zululand history.

The proof and value of my formulations must depend not only on how far they explain actual Zululand history, but also on whether scientific methods can be applied to them. First, have they a form which allows them to be tested inductively in many societies, by those scientific methods which Durkheim, for instance, argued can be applied in social studies?[3] Second, can they be tested in the light of their own logical consistence and their consistence with other sociological hypotheses? It will be seen that I have derived some of these processes from one another, and the extent to which I have drawn on the works of many sociologists and social anthropologists is so evident, that I do not need to specify in detail my obvious indebtedness. Third, do my formulations imply other social processes? For if they do this, even should they be rejected as themselves invalid, they are useful.

[1] My own investigations in Northern Zululand were financed by the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research (Carnegie Fund), whom I thank for their grant. I am grateful to Drs. A. I. Richards and E. Hellmann, to Miss Joyce Gluckman and to Mr. Godfrey Wilson, for criticisms of an early draft of this paper.

[2] For other works see Schapera's *Select Bibliography of South African Native Life and Problems*. My own articles are: (1) "The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa" in *African Political Systems* (ed. by M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard), 1940; (2) and (3) "Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand, (A) The Social Organisation of Modern Zululand, (B) Social Change in the History of Zululand," *Bantu Studies*, March and June 1940. Please note that I use "Zululand" and "Zululanders" to embrace both Zulu and Whites living in Zululand; "Zulu" describes the Black alone.

[1] Campbell, Norman: *What is Science?* Methuen, London, 1921, p. 37.

[2] See Campbell, *ibid.*, p. 167 for a clear emphasis on this point. He writes as a physicist, and his argument, applies, a fortiori, to social events.

[3] See his *Règles de la Méthode Sociologique*.

The processes I discuss in this paper are by no means complete, nor are their own full implications analysed. However, as I am occupied in research in Barotseland, I write them up to guide that work, and plan to analyse them further when I write a full account of my Zululand researches. I publish them in the hope that they will be of some use to other sociologists.

II

My general argument depends on distinguishing two classes of social systems: repetitive and changing systems.[1]

(1) A repetitive social system is one in which conflicts can be wholly resolved and co-operation wholly achieved within the pattern of the system. The individuals who are members of the groups and the parties to the relationships which constitute the parts of the system, change, but there is no change in the character of those parts or the pattern of their interdependence with its conflicts and cohesion. Children are born into such a system, and they grow up, age and die; the personnel of groups and the incumbents of office change; quarrels occur; but all these changes do not change the system. For example, in early Zulu history two kings were enthroned by violence, but the rebellions did not change the pattern of the Zulu political system.

(2) On the other hand, a changing social system is one in which conflicts can only be partially or wholly resolved and co-operation partially or wholly achieved by changes not only in the individuals who are the members of the groups and the parties to the relationships which constitute the parts of the system, but also by changes in the character of those parts and the pattern of their interdependence with its conflicts and cohesion. Modern Zululand is such a system, in which new types of groups and social personalities, in ever-changing relationships with one another, are emerging constantly.

[1] See my article in *Bantu Studies*, June 1940, *op. cit.*, especially at pp. 168f., where I refer to previous formulations of this distinction by sociologists and other scientists. I repeat the point here for it is essential to my argument and I feel it is not yet fully appreciated by some sociologists writing on Africa.

It is often difficult to classify a particular social system as repetitive or changing. Actual changes within a repetitive pattern may accumulate gradually to produce changes in the pattern; in a changing system there are many repetitive changes and a whole section of a changing system may appear to be repetitive. Thus schools in modern society appear to have the same internal pattern over a number of years, despite the departure of old and the entry of new scholars and teachers. Moreover, certain sociological relations are common to both classes of social system. Nevertheless, it is possible theoretically to distinguish these classes of social system, and there are a number of sociological relations found in changing, and not in repetitive, systems.

Each of these classes may be divided into subclasses of social systems of (a) homogeneous, and (b) heterogeneous, culture-groups. There are many repetitive systems composed of heterogeneous culture-groups.[1] The Zulu-White is a changing system of heterogeneous culture-groups. It might be argued that all societies in fact consist of heterogeneous culture-groups, since there is always culture variation over age-groups, political status, etc.

III. Culture and Sociological Relations

I must define what I mean by culture and culture-groups.

Science attempts to formulate invariable relations between types of events, and within this general field sociology studies the invariable relations between social events.[2] These may be defined as the actions of people as members of

[1] E.g. The Tallensi (Fortes, M. in *African Political Systems*, *op. cit.*); the Ankole (Oberg, K. *ibid*); the Barotse (Gluckman, M. *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 7); the Masai-Kikuyu (Huxley, E. *Red Strangers*); various American Indian systems (ed. Linton, R. *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*); Trobriand-Dobua (Malinowski, B. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*).

[2] This conception of our field has been brought into sociological thought most clearly by Radcliffe-Brown. It has long been adopted by other scientists but has yet to obtain wide acceptance in social anthropology. I repeat the point for I need it to make my definitions. Since Radcliffe-Brown has not published on this theme, I take the opportunity of acknowledging my great debt to his clarifying lectures and discussions.

groups or parties to relationships with other people in a community,[1] but they also include the physical world men live in and the materials they use, in these relations.

The sociologist makes generalisations, stating that certain social events are typical for some community. These may not accurately describe any actual social events, but represent the type of behaviour that underlies these actual events, in that community. Thus few relationships between Zulu fathers and their sons conform in every detail to the father-son relationship which is typical for the Zulu, and which the sociologist must describe to begin his analyses.[2] That is, from the flow of particular and unique social events, the sociologist abstracts types of social events as representative of the community he is studying, and these typical events are what I propose to call the community's *culture*.

This definition of culture corresponds more or less with Radcliffe-Brown's, that culture is the standardised behaviour of individuals in a community, and with Tylor's definition that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society." Then groups of different culture are groups whose standardised modes of behaviour, beliefs, laws, material possessions and or so on, are not alike.

From descriptions of the cultures of particular societies, we have to abstract invariable relations between culture parts and invariable processes by which culture functions, and these may be termed *sociological relations*. These are abstract conceptions, and do not ever occur in reality in a pure form, for, as described in the preceding section, many sociological and other relations and many social and other events operate to produce the facts we perceive. We may then say that in any social system culture is the particular form in which appears a variety of sociological relations, some of which are common to systems with widely different cultures. This point is made by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard: "A comparative study of political systems has to be on an abstract plane where social processes are stripped of their cultural idiom and are reduced to functional terms. The structural similarities which disparity of culture conceals are then laid bare and structural dissimilarities are revealed behind a screen of cultural uniformity. There is evidently a major connection between a people's culture and their social organisation, but the nature of this connection is a major problem in sociology and we cannot emphasise too much that these two components of social life must not be confused."[1]

Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, like many other anthropologists, confine the word *structural* to the relations between parts of social organisation. My *sociological relations* has a wider connotation. I continue to use *structural* in their sense. Both sociological and structural relations are clearly distinguished from *social relationships*, which describe the modes of behaviour existing between two or more social personalities or groups in a society, i.e. social relationships are generalised on the level of culture.

If we apply the distinction between culture and sociological relations to Zululand, we find that there are present in it sociological relations which occur throughout the whole capitalist world. These show in Zululand in forms similar to those in other territorial sections of the system, but in addition they take cultural forms particular to Zululand. Similar sociological relations in the White and Zulu groups take very different cultural forms.

ii

It is necessary to make a further distinction. People perceive their own culture partially and often inaccurately, according to sociological standards, and they react to it with feelings and valuations, and they perceive and react to the culture of groups and personalities with whom they associate, similarly. A culture perceived by its bearers is thus usually very different from the

[1] The proviso "as members of groups or parties to social relationships" delimits the field of sociology from that of psychology, which studies the relations between the same events as parts of individual mental systems. This is the distinction between these sciences which is made by Radcliffe-Brown.

[2] The relation of actual, to typical, relationships, is one of the specialised fields in sociology, especially in the study of changing systems.

[1] Introduction to *African Political Systems*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

same culture described by the sociologist. A people may generalise their culture in abstractions of a low order, so that the Zulu can describe, for example, a norm of a father-son relationship, but this is not the father-son relation, dependent on many other relations, described by the sociologist. It is essential to emphasise this difference in a study of social change. I do so with an example.

A pagan Zulu becomes a Christian. He does not know all the tenets of Christianity nor even all the pagan beliefs he is expected to abandon, and he attaches certain values to both sets of beliefs. His conversion is a cultural change, an alteration in the standardised behaviour of a social unit, and as such is discussed by the sociologist. In addition, we have to discuss the beliefs and behaviour of the White group which the missionary considers he is giving the Zulu, and the Zulu considers he is accepting from the missionary. I propose to use the term *endoculture* to describe the culture of a social personality or group as perceived by that personality or by the members of that group respectively, and *exoculture* to describe the culture of a social personality or group as perceived by other members of the same social system.[1] *Culture* is thus restricted to the standardised behaviour of social personalities or groups described by the sociologist.

iii

People live in terms of their culture as they perceive it, and are usually unconscious of the sociological relations which affect and help determine their behaviour.

When a pagan Zulu becomes a Christian, he perceives a pattern of behaviour and belief which he is expected to assume and patent changes this will make in his previous behaviour and beliefs. He is generally unaware of the sociological and psychological, perhaps even physiological, causes of his conversion, and of the sociological effects it will have on his community and psychological effects on himself. It is these sociological relations that we have to attempt to discover. In analysing social change we are ultimately concerned with changing sociological relations, and not only with the surface changes of culture. But in order to analyse these sociological changes, we must be able to refer them to the culture changes which are the facts we observe. We must be able to discuss the conversion of our Zulu. To do this, it is necessary to break culture into smaller units of discourse, and I do so in terms of *customs*.

Fortes has summed up admirably the general recognition that earlier methods of studying social change in terms of customs screened the complicated processes at work : he writes that in a period of change in a society of heterogeneous culture-groups there is not " a mechanical pitchforking of elements of culture, like bundles of hay, from one culture to another."[1] When I speak of customs thus, I fully appreciate that in reality every change in items of culture is both the product of many previous causes and the cause of many further effects. Further, I must emphasise that for the sociologist a culture item exists in its relations with the whole social system of which it is a part. However, changes in these parts of culture do occur, and when we come to discuss how culture dies out for sociological causes, and may later be revived with different values in a different system for other sociological causes, how culture of one group is adopted by another group, etc., we must recognise that there is a core of behaviour and belief which, both for its bearers and the sociologist, has a measure of historical continuity. In analysis it is essential to have some term of reference for this core, and I shall thus use *custom*, to cover any part of culture, however complex, whether technical or moral, which is involved in changes within a social system.

When I discuss how members of a group main-

[1] I have to thank Prof. T. J. Haarhoff of the University of the Witwatersrand for these terms, which he reluctantly suggested when I asked him how I could describe the concepts in question. He thought them awkward and artificial, but many terms which have to be created, are, and I use them as essential to my argument. Mrs. H. Kuper suggests *in-group* and *out-group* as terms previously adopted, but they were used with different connotations from my *endoculture* and *exoculture*.

[1] " Culture-Contact as a Dynamic Process " in *Methods of Study of Cultural Contact in Africa*, Memorandum XV, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1938.

tain, drop, or revive their culture, I shall speak of *endoculture customs ;* when they react to another group's culture, of *exoculture customs ;* and where, in sociological description, changes occur, of *culture customs.*

While I thus speak of customs, I repeat that I do so as a technique of analysis ; in reality changes in the nature and social incidence[1] of customs occur with changes in the sociological relations operating in the whole culture. The relation of these two types of changes is the problem of a later section.

iv

The particular class of sociological relations with which I shall deal in this paper, is that of processes of social change, i.e. the invariable modes by which social change occurs. Before proceeding to discuss these, I must point out that as the relations of one part to other parts of a social system change so the weight of various processes of change operating on that part will alter. Thus an endoculture custom which has been dropped by a group may later be revived, and exoculture innovations which were once accepted may later be opposed, and so on. I give a few examples to illustrate this important point.

On 13th January, 1891, a magistrate, in reply to a suggestion from his superior that Government cattle be loaned to Zulu to encourage them to plough, stated that he thought the Zulu were too uncivilized to take advantage of it. There were three or four ploughs owned by rich Zulu in the district, but others had no use for ploughing and said it would make their women lazy. Rich men preferred to pay Whites and Christian Zulu to plough for them. Here I may interpolate, that Zulu opposition to ploughs may have been rooted in questions of political status, poverty, fear of witchcraft charges, etc. Nevertheless a few years later most Zulu men were using ploughs, possibly because they were intellectually convinced of the utility of the plough, they had acquired money to buy them, labour migration had lowered the labour force in Zululand, the values of Western civilisation with their emphasis on heavy production were being accepted and some men took to ploughing to get an economic advantage over their fellows, Christian Zulu adopted ploughing as part of Christianity and passed the new technique on to their pagan relatives, and so on.

Increasing opposition between the Zulu and White groups has made the Zulu more consciously hostile to White innovations, while other forces often induce them to accept these. In 1892 it was reported that quinine was being generally used, and many Zulu were so persuaded of its efficacy that they were even buying it. Today Government malaria-control includes the issue of free quinine and pyagra, but though these are often accepted, the whole scheme is regarded suspiciously as a White way of getting Zulu money in the future, of harming their health, and so on. The Whites are accused of having introduced malaria into a Zulu arcady, thus bringing the objections to the innovation into line with the dominant rationale of the society. It is indeed possible that the incidence of malaria has increased with an increasing density of population, occupation of areas previously deemed unsuitable, and work on malarial sugar-farms.

Early missionaries were told that the Zulu did not know God ; today the Zulu claim that they, like the Whites, always knew him.

As a result of this increasing opposition, the Zulu now say of Government measures even when these appear to the Zulu themselves to be in their interests : " Whites treat Blacks as they do fish. At first they throw meat into the water and the fish eat it. It is good. The next day there is a hook in it." Or they will hold their hands apart—" a White project is like this, and then " (switching their hands round) " we learn what is behind it."

Thus social developments affect not only the processes of change which operate, but also the extent to which various processes affect any particular custom, and therefore the history of all customs. To explain how particular customs persist and others die out, how some are offered in exchange and others refused, how there is blending and independent existence of customs

[1] I.e. the social personalities and groups to which the customs pertain; compare the incidence of a tax.

of two groups in the culture of one of the groups, would require an analysis of the history of each custom set in the continually changing pattern of the social system. That is, the history of any custom should be related to the functioning of the total pattern from period to period.[1] For as the system alters, different processes may affect each custom. This description of real changes,—the actual history of customs—, is not my purpose. I attempt to abstract the processes of change which have been operating and merely illustrate them with examples culled from this actual history. In the concluding section I shall take briefly two examples and show how the processes I formulate may be applied to the history of particular customs.

v

Before I begin my analysis of social processes, I must make a final point. I appreciate that we must try to measure the units we use for our analysis, but I have so far failed to evolve a technique to do so with the conflicts, co-operation, opposition, etc., which I use in my formulations. Nevertheless, measurement in itself is pointless: and before we can bring measurement thoroughly into sociology, we must decide what it is profitable for us to measure. If a study of a type of sociological relation is illuminating, it is valuable even before these relations are susceptible of measurement.

IV. Sociological Movements are expressed in Culture Terms

In studying a changing social system we are largely concerned with *sociological movement*, which is the changing relations of groups and social personalities with their altering power, interests, conflicts and co-operation. We have seen that differences of culture between groups in a social system are not themselves sufficient to produce changes, for there are repetitive systems of heterogeneous culture-groups. Changes occur in the systems of both homogeneous and heterogeneous culture-groups only when there are conflicts which cannot be resolved, and essential co-operation which cannot be achieved, within the original pattern.

In any society, social personalities and groups have a characteristic culture, and when developing conflicts and emerging co-operation produce different relations between groups and personalities, or produce new groups and personalities, these too must be marked by a characteristic culture, to demarcate them from others and to express, and be the centre of, their interests. That is, changes in sociological relations must be expressed, and they are expressed in terms of culture. For social units must act in terms of culture, just as an individual can act only by his mental-behaviouristic habits. Even the neurotic, moved by unconscious conflicts, shows his neuroticism by giving different values to ideas common in his society and by combining these ideas in different patterns. This is true of social units in a period of change.

Moreover, as the neurotic and the normal person are unconscious of the conflicts motivating them, so people as social units are unaware of both the sociological and psychological forces which move them; they tend not to understand the movements of which they are part, nor even that they are part of such a movement. But they must express these forces in behaviour, and whatever the sociological roots of a movement it is formulated in terms of the culture at the disposal of its members. Thus the roots of movements may lie deep in the social structure, but the movements themselves appear on the surface in new configurations of existing culture, constituting partly the values by which the bearers of the movements rationalise the forces and interests of which they are unconscious.

Therefore new Zulu, White, and Zululander, movements are expressed in terms of Zulu and White culture. For example, to reduce to some its sociological components a formidable problem, for certain reasons Whites evangelize Zulu. There is produced a group of Christian Zulu in close relationship with some Whites, and it represents a sphere of Zulu-White co-operation, i.e. it is a group of Zululanders. However, all

[1] See Schapera, I., "Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion. A note on Social Change," in *Africa*, January, 1933, for a good study on these lines. Also his *Married Life in an African Tribe*.

Christian Zulu are closely associated with pagan Zulu in many ways, and they get no equality with Whites in or outside Churches. In sociological terms, through the co-operating group of Zululander Christians there operates the fundamental cleavage into Zulu and Whites. Some[1] Zulu Christians, affected by this, react against White Christianity. If they revert simply to Zulu paganism they are not structurally opposed to the Zulu-White Christian group; they are opposed only to the White Christian group. Therefore the groups opposed to Zulu-White Christians embrace some Christian beliefs and are free of White control: but their beliefs must be different from, as well as similar, to, Zulu-White Christian beliefs, and usually pagan beliefs are used to express this opposition. In turn these pagan beliefs enable dissident Zulu Christians to associate with pagan Zulu in ways in which White-church Zulu cannot, while they can associate with church Zulu as pagan Zulu cannot. Zulu national or anti-national, or Bantu-national, relations further affect the forms of dissident sects' beliefs. Land shortage and economic hardships are also important, and individual Zulu desires for power, the expulsion of capable but rebellious or peculating Zulu from White churches, the desire for polygamy, and many other factors, are at work to produce the actual forms and creeds of dissident churches. But fundamentally the sociological relations which give scope to the other developments are as described here.

This point shows even more clearly in another example. Since Zululand is a territorial section of the world system, its developments are determined by structural relations in the whole system. Relations between national and racial groups, between capitalist employers and their employees, between skilled and unskilled labourers, between trade unionists and non-trade unionists, between peasants and industrialised proletariat, which are common to the world system despite great cultural, and indeed structural, diversity, therefore produce similar movements in all parts of the system. These movements, with subsidiary variations, occur in Europe, China, Malaya, America, Zululand, etc. In each they take similar as well as very different cultural forms. In Zululand these movements are expressed in terms of many cultures: of world culture, as trade unionism, anti-semitism, co-operatives; of Black Africa, as labour migration and Ethiopian churches; of South Africa, as ascription by the Zulu of more negrophilism to English than to Boers; and of Zulu culture, as a revival of Zulu ritual.

ii

In a changing system of heterogeneous culture-groups, there are four possible ways in which culture can be used to express new developments.

(1) If a movement in a group can be expressed in endoculture customs, those customs will tend to survive.

(2) If a movement in a group can be expressed in exoculture of another group, the first group tend to adopt those customs.

(3) Where a movement can be expressed in either endoculture or exoculture customs, the final event will depend on the total situation. Strong opposition gives a bias for endoculture, co-operation a bias for exoculture.

(4) If a movement can be expressed only in a group's own endoculture customs and in the exoculture customs of another group, those customs must be combined accordingly.

These rules apply to the survival and adoption of customs; conversely, customs not covered by them will tend to be dropped or rejected.

The above formulations are very wide, but it is necessary to state them clearly, for by combining them with other principles we shall be able to reduce them to more illuminating concepts.

iii

This main principle of the cultural expression of sociological movements has two important subsidiary rules, to which I shall refer as the first and second principles of the social load.[1]

[1] Owing to lack of figures for several areas, I cannot say what proportion. There may be some statistical law at work here, relating the number of Zulu in White and dissident sects, to pressure on land, etc. in particular sections of the main community.

[1] Cf. the load of a river is the sediment it carries.

(A) All movements tend to be expressed in as much of the available endoculture and exoculture as possible. E.g. White-Black opposition in Zululand tends to be expressed by the Whites in their full endoculture: they justify their superior position religiously by reference to the myth of Ham; in the scientific rationale of Western society by pseudo-genetics, pseudo-sociology, pseudo-psychology, pseudo-history, etc.; in exoculture terms, there is a tendency, marked even in social anthropology, to attach great inherent value to Black culture, for Blacks, even while this exoculture is denigrated.

(B) All culture tends to survive. That is, every custom tends to continue being practised though it will take new forms and develop new social values to accord with the new system of which it is part.

iv

Changing sociological relations thus find expression in changes of culture. But in a changing system of heterogeneous culture-groups, culture differences demarcate groups and social personalities, and contribute to produce changes. As these principles work out in reality, the survival of old, and the adoption of new, culture are inter-dependent with sociological movements. Changes of culture express the movements, but the relations between cultural facts also determine what movements occur. Beliefs in sorcery and magic not only provide one form in which Zulu-White opposition is expressed, but also throughout they, with growing Zulu opposition to White political and economic domination, have restricted Zulu acceptence of White knowledge, and further this difference in knowledge is a form of the cleavage between the two groups. If Whites and Zulu had come to form one undifferentiated economic group, these beliefs would not have acted in the same way; and if the Zulu had had no beliefs in witchcraft, under present conditions their opposition to the Whites would still have existed and had to be expressed in what culture was available. The interdependence of culture and sociological relations is two-sided: I am in this analysis looking at it mainly in one direction.

V. Social Cleavage and Conflict and Social Inertia

(1) In any social system there is a dominant cleavage into groups which runs through all social relationships in the system. This dominant cleavage is rooted in the fundamental conflict of the system. (In Zululand the dominant cleavage is into White and Black groups.) In any part of the system there may be a subsidiary cleavage, operating similarly in that part of the system to the dominant cleavage in the whole system, but the subsidiary cleavage will be affected by the dominant cleavage. This is the principle of the dominant cleavage. In one of my other articles I have described how the relations of magistrates, chiefs, local councils, and indunas, in Zululand and the Transkei, have developed similarly under the influence of the dominant White-Black cleavage.[1]

It follows that the dominant cleavage of a changing system must produce similar structural developments in all similar parts of the system, even if the cultural form be different. In the preceding example, this applies to political forms in modern Zululand and the Transkei. I have already cited how in the world system similar cleavages have produced common developments in all its similar parts—Europe, China, Zululand, etc.—though geographically and culturally these parts vary from one another. I propose to refer to this principle as that of the developing dominant cleavage.

(2) A consequence of the principle of the developing dominant cleavage is that a changing social system tends to continue developing along the lines of its dominant cleavage till this is radically altered and the conflict causing the cleavage is wholly resolved in the pattern of a new system. This is the principle of social inertia[2] (cf. Bateson's Schismogenesis).

[1] *Bantu Studies*, June 1940 *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 167. *Inertia* is "that property of matter by which it tends when at rest to remain so, and when in motion to continue in motion, and in the same straight line or direction, unless acted on by some external force" (*Oxford Concise Dictionary*). However, social inertia must be visualised as continual development in a certain direction, possibly with great social changes. I do not use the term in the sense of the old social physicists:

One implication of the principle of social inertia is that if the dominant cleavage in a changing system be into two groups (A) and (B), for every form of co-operation between members of (A) and (B), there will develop a corresponding cleavage. If the cleavage is between two culture-groups (A) and (B), wherever members of (A) and (B) co-operate in a group (a) based on the culture of (A) alone, some members of (a) and (B) will form a group (ab) based on the customs of (a) and (B). Further, (a) and (ab) will then be opposed to one another and this opposition will be expressed in terms of the values of the dominant cleavage of the system, (A) vs. (B). Then, under the first principle of the social load, all forms of the (A) vs. (B) opposition will affect the (a) vs. (ab) opposition.

Above I have given an example of these principles in the development of the Zulu dissident sects (the groups equivalent to (ab)).

It also follows that in this situation the cleavage into:

(ab) vs. (B) is less than (a) vs. (B)

(ab) vs. (A) is more than (a) vs. (A)

In the same example, the dissident sects (ab) are less opposed to the whole Zulu group (B) than the White-Zulu sects (a), while the dissident sects (ab) are more opposed to the White group (A) than are the Zulu-White sects.

(3) A further implication of the principle of social inertia is that where the dominant cleavage in a changing system is into two culture-groups, if members of either major group form a minor group based on strong adherence to the whole or part of the endoculture of the major group, then this minor group will be strengthened in its following by its emphasis on its major group's culture, for this emphasises the dominant cleavage against the other major group.

Thus many pagan Zulu join dissident sects because these practise Zulu customs and are strongly hostile to the White group. They may be unaware that this is why they do so. Similarly, Wagner points out that Bantu Kavirondo perform certain rites to defy the group of Christian Kavirondo, but it is clear from his later text that this also has an anti-White significance.[1]

(4) In a changing social system all developments tend to accord with the developing dominant cleavage. All changes that occur in Zululand are used to express the dominant cleavage into Whites vs. Zulu. If Whites introduce cattle-sales which benefit the Zulu by raising the selling-price of their beasts, it is for the Zulu a method of exterminating their herds. One way in which this process works is by secondary elaboration of belief (Evans-Pritchard,)[2] i.e. by applying beliefs centred in the dominant cleavage to every new development. Interest-groups opposed to innovations thus defend themselves: Zulu leeches attack the teachings of Native Malarial Assistants on these grounds, and older Zulu say that irrigation projects, Native Agricultural Demonstrators, etc., by improving Zulu gardens will entice the Whites to expropriate them.

(5) In any social system every group sets a value on its own endoculture. This, in combination with the preceding principles, enables us to infer that where in a changing system the dominant cleavage is into two culture-groups, each of these groups will tend to set increasingly greater value on its endoculture, since this expresses the dominant cleavage. Thus opposition between the White and Zulu groups results in each setting group-values on its own culture. These among the Zulu are chiefly national traditions and ceremonies, and many of the latter which had become obsolete are being revived. Under (3) above in this section this strengthens the group.

Thus customs tend to become endoculture values for the members of each culture-group to express the independence of the group and this is part of the values of the culture differences. Zulu sorcery and divination functioned in one set of social relationships and continue to operate in similar relationships, but in addition they have a new social value as part of the creed of anti-

e.g. Bechtereff's law of inertia as manifested in the existence of conservatism, tradition, habit, etc. See Sorokin, P. *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928, at p. 19, and elsewhere in the same chapter.

[1] *Study of Culture-Contact in Africa, op. cit.*, pp. 93 and 104.

[2] *Witchcraft, Magic and Oracles among the Azande*, Oxford, 1937.

White sects. The family ancestral-cult could not acquire similar values as it operates only in kinship groups, whereas magic works outside kinship boundaries: the chief's ancestral cult, as it attaches to the political group, can acquire these values.

Conversely, when the dominant cleavage in a changing system is into culture-groups, each group also tends to set a value on the other group's culture as distinguishing the other group from itself. Thus the Whites set a value on Zulu culture, even while they denigrate it.[1]

(6) If we combine some of the above principles with the rule formulated by Evans-Pritchard that "in all . . . groups the status of members, when acting as such to outsiders and one another, is structurally undifferentiated,"[2] it follows that when two groups (A) and (B) of different culture are opposed, if members of (A) attempt to introduce their endoculture to (B), the attack on the endoculture of (B) unites it, and its opposition to (A) leads to, and is expressed in, opposition to the innovation. Individual members of (B) tend to react to the innovation as members of (B) vs. (A). However, if a member of (B) independently accepts an innovation from (A), other members of (B) tend to accept it from him, for they react to him as a fellow-member of (B).

Though Zulu pagans abuse Christianity and Christians paganism, pagan and Christian relatives live together fairly amicably, and pagans accept many White exoculture customs from Christian relatives, which they oppose when pushed by Whites.

The above principles may be called the principles of resistance without, and acceptance within, a group. The principle of acceptance within a group applies particularly where a group is hierarchically organised and a superior member accepts an innovation; inferior members are likely to accept it from him. Thus the Zulu have accepted much White exoculture from their chiefs. In Zululand though the representatives of Zulu interests have long advocated certain developments, these were hotly opposed by most Whites till Government, forced by natural necessities, itself suggested some developments.

However, if in this situation the higher members of a group's hierarchy have special interest links with the other group, their acceptance of the other group's exoculture may not be passed on to their subordinates, who may react to their leaders as members of the other group and reject their leadership, threatening the hierarchy. This is tending to happen to Zulu chiefs.

(7) Under the principles of social inertia, endoculture valuation, and the social load, a group in approaching social (and technical) problems caused by its relationships with another opposed culture-group, tends to do so with the intellectual material of its endoculture by stressing or reviving old solutions, rather than by accepting exoculture solutions, since (the unawareness of sociological relations) its members do not understand the causes of these problems which may be rooted in changed social conditions. E.g. in the White group farmers adjacent to Zululand, who have Zulu on their farms, believe that their labour problems could be solved by promulgating even more than the numerous existing laws to tie the tenants to the farms from which they are inevitably drifting.[1] In the Zulu group, Zulu always realised and still realise that cattle in overstocked areas deteriorate, but they perceive the problem in terms of former Zulu expansion over plentiful land, now taken from them by the Whites. Thus an old Zulu replied to an official who inveighed against overstocking: 'You are wrong. It is not that we have too many cattle for our land, we have too little land for our cattle.' Whites, unwilling to admit the nature of the Black land problem in South Africa, maintain that the

[1] In fact in its reactions to another group's culture, a group may be involved in a serious contradiction. Thus the Nazis attempt to smash the cultures of the people they conquer, for if a group's culture persists the group tends to maintain its identity and strength. The Nazis wish to destroy the dominant cleavage into national groups opposed to theirs. But at the same time they play one culture-group against another and therefore try to maintain each inferiors group's culture against other inferior groups, but not against themselves. They have already failed in their attempt to exploit two contradictory social principles in the same situation.

[2] *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940.

[1] See Union Government Commission's Report on Native Farm Labour, 1939.

Zulu (and all Bantu) appreciate only quantity, not quality, in their herds, a blatant inaccuracy.[1]

Therefore, under these principles, where in a changing social system new conflicts and problems emerge, the groups subject to these tend to explain them by the obsolescence of old customs and ceremonies, since they do not, cannot, and or dare not, investigate the real causes. E.g. The Zulu ascribe the increase in the illegitimacy rate to the forbidding of the custom that the pregnant spinster be married to an old man. The Zulu Regent suggested to solve this problem, which is deep-rooted in present conditions, that the vaginal examination of girls by old women be re-instituted. Previously this had been done by communal agreement in part of Mtuntini district of Zululand. A girl who was accused of not being a virgin brought a successful suit for damages in the magistrate's court.[2] To solve this problem, I have also heard well-educated Zulu, at a big national meeting in Durban, advocate the restoration of an old custom to reduce the sexual itch in children by thrusting a straw up a child's anus and twirling it against the membrane of the bowel to draw blood (*ukugweba*).

VI. The Cultural Expression of Developing Conflicts and Cleavages

In this section I relate the general principles of the cultural expression of sociological movements to the principle that in all social systems there is a tendency for individual quarrels, arising out of conflicts, to be expressed in socially recognised forms.

(1) If new conflicts can be expressed and partially resolved in terms of old culture customs, these tend to persist. E.g. Zulu can explain their ill-luck or failures in the struggle for work for Whites by saying that they were bewitched, for this relates the misfortune to their competing with non-relatives. Occasionally it may be explained by saying that they were not informed of a relative's death, or had incurred the ancestral-spirits' wrath; but the ancestral-spirits operate chiefly in the kinship group, which does not cover work for Whites. Good luck in the same sphere tends to be attributed to magic, not to the ancestral-spirits, for the same reasons. A second example with the same example is: the magistrate's condemnation of sorcery-divination, as contrasted with the chief's belief in it, expresses the antithesis of magistrate and chief, and this antithesis strengthens the belief which can appear in action. In some cases the accused sorcerer goes for protection to the magistrate, the accuser seeks the chief. One man in different situations may play both roles. The family ancestral-cult cannot express this conflict, though the background of the belief gives the chief, in relation to his ancestors, a place in Zululand life entirely different from the magistrate's.[1] Finally, the new conflict between dissident and White-church sects can be expressed in sorcery-magic divination beliefs, not in ancestral-cult beliefs, for the dissident sects consist of non-related people and therefore the priests can use the former, but not the latter, set of beliefs.

(2) If emerging new conflicts in a group can be expressed in exoculture customs, these will tend to be accepted. This process shows in the feeling of Zulu Christians that they must build good houses and wear European clothes, to show their Christianity, and their distinction from pagans. The Zulu have a special, somewhat opprobrious, term, for pagans who wear trousers. This process also covers the general rule, formulated by Frazer, that a conquering group tends to ascribe mystical powers to the conquered group, since they do not fear its force. Under this rule, many Whites believe in Zulu magical powers, thus accepting the beliefs. They have no reason to accept ancestral-cult beliefs, because these operate in kinship-groups into which they do not enter.

(3) If old and continuing conflicts in a group can be expressed in old endoculture customs, these will tend to persist. E.g. Conflicts of interest between brothers over inheritance, which

[1] For an example of this inaccuracy, see Report of the Union Government Native Economic Commission, 22/1932, and for a contrasted scientific account of African appreciation of quality in cattle, Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, *op. cit.*, Chapter I.

[2] Information from the magistrate who tried the case.

[1] See my article in *African Political Systems*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

dominated and dominate Zulu kinship groups, were and are expressed in charges of sorcery, and to a lesser extent in mutual recrimination at sacrifices, since sacrifices are now rarely performed.[1]

(4) If old conflicts in a group can be expressed in exoculture customs, these will tend to be accepted. In old Zulu culture there could be no marked difference in the standard of living, as there were no luxuries. Not even the chiefs could live at a much higher level than their people. Today, better houses, cars, clothes, etc. are often believed to be appropriate to chiefs and not to commoners, and for reasons of prestige the chiefs must strain to be rich in White goods. The same process induces a small number of Whites, in their struggles against their fellows, to explain their misfortunes in terms of Zulu magic-sorcery beliefs; and I have heard from Mrs. H. Kuper of one White storekeeper getting a Swazi magician to use lightning magic on his behalf.

(5) If old customs can express the overt emergence of old conflicts which previously were usually repressed or broke out in publicly disapproved violence, these tend to persist. There was always a strong tension between Zulu fathers and sons which could not be expressed under old conditions save by migration; today it is expressed in terms of sorcery, and a Zulu may be accused by his own son of killing the latter's children. These conflicts cannot be expressed in the ancestral-cult, dependent as it is on kinship hierarchies, so that again under this process beliefs in sorcery will tend to persist while beliefs in the ancestral-cult will not.

(6) Exoculture customs which can express the overt emergence of conflicts previously repressed within a group, tend to be accepted. Family conflicts were a potent cause (though not of course the only cause) of Zulu young men's going out to work. In fact Fortes considers that among the Gold Coast Tallensi, where labour migration of men is not the social norm as it is in Zululand, family "conflicts appear to be the cause of emigration rather than its consequence."[2]

[1] This is not to deny that these conflicts were and still are expressed in other ways, as fighting, migration, law-suits.

[2] *Study of Culture-Contact*, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

Similarly conversion was often accepted for this reason: by 1890 Zulu parents were complaining to magistrates that their daughters had run away to missions, and family quarrels seem to have been the cause of these flights. In general, Zulu women were converted more readily than men, and this would be expected if my argument on the inferior status of Zulu women is correct.[1]

(7) If a new conflict is incompatible with the practice of particular culture behaviour, this behaviour will be dropped. In modern Zululand the people are strongly opposed to their chiefs' co-operating with magistrates. A son of a prominent Zulu political authority while working in Johannesburg was not allowed by the other working members of his father's district to live with them; they said his father was always selling his people to Government, and therefore abandoned an old local and kinship-group practice, which was carried from the king's military barracks to the labour centres.

(8) There are other possible variations of rule (7), as: If a new custom is incompatible with an old conflict, it will tend to be resisted. Thus men have opposed Christianity with its talk of equality for women.

VII. Social Cleavage and Social Co-operation

In any social system there tends to be co-operation across all lines of cleavage. Therefore in a changing social system, until the dominant cleavage is radically resolved in a new pattern, there is co-operation across that cleavage and every new cleavage tends to be compensated by a new form of co-operation.

(1) Thus we have seen in the section on social inertia, that in a changing system where the dominant cleavage is into culture-groups (A) vs. (B), various co-operation groups (a), (ab), (aB), including members of (A) and (B), tend to emerge. For each new group created by the developing dominant cleavage there will tend to emerge a new co-operating group. Thus dissident sects range in beliefs, and in co-operation with and

[1] See my "Zulu Women in Hoeculture Ritual," *Bantu Studies*, Sept. 1935. In his *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* Linton argues that women are more readily converted than men where they cannot participate in tribal religions life.

hostility to Whites and Zulu: some marry pagan Zulu in semi-pagan ceremonies, others not; some are dominantly anti-White, others less so; some concentrate on divination, others on messianic beliefs; etc.

(2) Under the principles of the social load, social co-operation, like cleavage, tends to take every possible form,.

(3) Differences in the culture of two groups co-operating in a single social system make essential the development of customs of communication between them.

(i) If new modes of co-operation between old or new groups or social personalities can be expressed in old customs, these tend to survive. Thus the Zulu saluted White officials as they did chiefs, and these modes of salutation survive in the new situation. Magic can be used to get the favour of White employers, and sacrifices be made for good luck in this work.

(ii) If a group (A) cannot rely on its own endoculture in a new mode of co-operation with another group (B), it must accept exoculture from (B). The clearest example of this is the learning of the language of the other group and the institution of interpreters. If both groups take exoculture from each other, the contrasted exocultures may be combined, as in "kitchen kafir" (*isipansi, isilunguboyi*),[1] a pidgin Zulu-Afrikaans-English.

(iii) Even where a group (A) is not accepting customs from another group (B) to use in its own intra-group relationships, it will adopt exoculture of (B) in its relationships with (B). Thus Whites use Zulu in speaking to Zulu, rarely among themselves; Zulu raise their hats to Whites, not to their own women.

(4) If new modes of co-operation within a group (A) can be expressed in exoculture of (B), (A) will tend to adopt these customs from (B). With the dispersal of kinsmen through labour-centres, Zulu have adopted letter-writing.

(5) If old and continuing modes of co-operation in a group (A) involved in relationships with another group (B) can be expressed in new culture customs, this will tend to happen. Thus economic co-operation between kinsmen is carried into work for wages: Zulu kinsmen go together to labour centres, and time their absences so that some of them always remain at home.

(6) If old and continuing modes of co-operation can continue to be expressed in old customs, these will tend to survive. E.g. The extended family still works one area of land and herds together.

(7) If new modes of co-operation are in conflict with old endoculture, this will tend to be dropped, in relevant relationships. Thus the value which modern White civilisation places on heavy production and on differential wealth is in marked conflict with beliefs in sorcery, by which a man producing more than his fellows is liable to be suspected of sorcery and a man with too many goods fears that he will be attacked by sorcery. This process must tend to destroy beliefs in sorcery, as far as they affect these particular relationships.

VIII. The Individual and Social Change in a Society of Heterogeneous Culture-Groups

Before formulating some processes by which individuals affect and are affected by social change I wish to consider the role of the individual in a changing social system.

Social change tends to be associated with great individual variations and conflicts. Among the Zulu, this appears, e.g., in the increasing number and types of "possessed" diviners and the increasing proportion of men among them. Individual differences of temperament, themselves largely the product of social conditions, are undoubtedly important determining forces in the processes of social change. All anthropologists stress this.[1]

However, as Fortes points out, "contact agents" are "to a considerable extent, socially stereotyped characters, both from the Native point of view and from the point of view of the organs of European civilisation whose instruments they are." This applies too to Native

[1] *Isipansi* = language-of-below; *isilunguboyi* = White-man's-language-boy, boy being a common White mode of address to Blacks.

[1] *Study of Culture-Contact, op. cit.*; Hunter, p. 23; Schapera, p. 33; Culwick, p. 44; for contrasted quotation from Fortes, *ibid*, footnote p. 90.

social personalities. In the persons of individual officials and other Whites, Western government, industrial relationships, institutions, values, techniques, etc.—Western culture—have come to Zululand and it is their acceptance, free and forced, and the Zulu's socially determined reaction to them, which have produced new groups and modes of behaviour. White and Zulu social personalities are the centres of new, as they were of old, institutions, conflicts, and adjustments and of the changed old ones. This is necessarily so, for individuals survive through great social changes and the changes must act through them and appear in their behaviour.

But individuals are only centres of these changing systems of relations, and though some students rightly stress the importance of studying individual personalities in social change, no-one could maintain that the personality of a chief, missionary or administrator, can alter the ultimate action of fundamental social forces, though it might determine which of conflicting social forces should become temporarily dominant. The conversion of the Kgatla chief may have been due to his or the missionary's temperament and entailed the conversion of his whole tribe.[1] Therefore, there does not occur among the Kgatla the Christian-pagan grouping of Zululand; but while the split into groups attached to new and old culture in Zululand centres formally in this division, it also exists among the Kgatla. Why individuals attach themselves to one or other group is partly a matter of temperament, but cannot be divorced from a series of structural problems which require an analysis of family, group, political and class relationships. The study of individual personality in social change must be set in the analysis of changing sociological relations. We have already seen that individual Zulu conflicts and tendencies find their expression in developing culture changes.

Some writers suggest that individual personality is of dominant importance since a popular administrator may induce a particular tribe to accept an innovation while an unpopular one cannot do so. This, though worthy of notice, occurs only in the basic relation of the tribe to Government, for the popularity of an administrator cannot alter the effects of establishing peace, encouraging the labour flow, limiting the tribal land, weakening the chief's authority, etc. In Zululand, the administrator is balanced against the chief, and the weighing of the balance in any particular district will vary with the individual personalities of administrator and chief and the matter at issue, but only within the defined limits of the main relation.[1] Thus variations of personality may ease or exacerbate social relationships.

Basic sociological relations determine the development of social organisation; a fortiori, they determine the expression allowed to individual differences of temperament.

ii

With this background I propose to formulate what I consider typical social processes by which individual behaviour causes social change.

(1) (a) It is a general rule that, in any system of opposed groups membership of which can be changed, individuals use the opposition of the groups to their own advantage by transferring from one group to another. An extension of this rule is that in a system of opposed culture-groups, members of one group will use the culture of the other group when it is to their advantage. Thus individual Zulu, who as Zulu believe in opposing the Christianity of the Whites, may send their children to become Christians and be educated in order that they may later more earn money as teachers.

[1] Schapera, *Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa*, p. 368. This occurred to more than one Tswana chief and there may be social reasons why it was possible. Kuper considers that the Swazi king, and Fortes that Tallensi chiefs, could not be converted without wrenching the relations which maintain their authority. The Zulu Regent and his brother were converted while their father was in exile. If the kingship had been working I consider that this would have been impossible. The late king broke from the Church, and the Regent's Christian faith involves him in difficulties with the majority of his subjects who are pagans. He has been attempting to escape from these by sponsoring a Zulu National Church—a new cleavage produced by the dominant cleavage, though of course he has not appreciated that this is what he is doing in accord with fundamental movement.

[1] I have discussed this in *African Political Systems*, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

(1) (b) A second extension of the above rule is that in a system of opposed culture-groups, membership of which cannot be changed, members of one group will for their own advantage act by some of the exoculture of the other group. Further, we may say that a member of a culture-group (A) may for his personal advantage accept innovations from an opposed culture-group (B) though as a member of (A) he believes that the innovations attack his group (B). (Compare process of acceptance within the group, under social inertia.)

Traitors in a repetitive system illustrate the generality of these principles. In Zululand, the selling of cattle affords a parallel instance. The Zulu social ideal is to acquire more and more cattle and in terms of the dominant cleavage Zulu believe that Government attempts to induce them to sell their cattle are directed to destroying the well-being of their group, which to them is associated with ownership of cattle. However, many Zulu, who abuse the cattle-sales started in Northern Zululand and upbraid sellers of cattle as traitors, themselves sell cattle when they need money. Many Whites who constantly fear miscegenation as threatening their group are ready enough to satisfy themselves on Zulu women.

(i) (c) As a further consequence of the above rules, we may infer that where developments under conditions of social change leave surviving two alternative modes of behaviour, to secure personal advantages an individual will switch from one to the other and if necessary change his membership of groups with which the modes of behaviour are associated. E.g. Sick pagans try Christianity for a cure, and sick Christians may revert to paganism; often both pagan and Christian practices are used. One of the main creeds of a certain dissident sect combines divination with praying to Christ for the patient's recovery.

(2) If a type of behaviour associated with a social personality or group is no longer possible under old forms in new conditions it tends to be expressed in new forms. If it can be expressed in the exoculture of another group this will be adopted. With this can be compared Fortes's "culture contact is not the cause of individualism but merely provides *(additional*—M.G.) channels of expression for that kind of behaviour which is commonly labelled individualistic."[1] The Zulu prince who can no longer acquire political power in Zululand can exert authority as a policeman or authoritative employee of Whites, and Whites tend to use princes thus under a process defined in the previous section. Individualistic tendencies and strivings for power work out in both White and dissident sects.

(3) (a) If the interests of a social personality (or group) are threatened by the continued practice of some endoculture customs under new conditions, that personality or group will tend to co-operate in the dropping of those customs, even if they previously contributed to maintain his/its interests. Though many diviners have continued to divine in terms of the ancestral-cult, the interests of the ancestral-cult priests themselves, who were the heads of kinship groups, were partly to let the cult weaken in order to keep Christians attached to them. Old Zulu headman therefore whispered the prayers over sacrificial animals so that Christian relatives could eat of the meat under the pretence that it was a mere killing, and in time it has often become that.

(3) (b) Conversely if a new social personality can use old abandoned endoculture customs in his interests, he will tend to do so. The Zulu priests of White-church sects use the old Zulu cultural relation of misfortune to personal quarrels, the essence of divination of sorcery, by promising Christ's protection against enemies.

(4) As a subsidiary rule of the tendency of the *élite* to circulate, we may say that members, especially the *élite*, of an inferior culture-group, where they cannot enter a superior culture-group, will tend to adopt what customs of the superior group they can, hoping thus to acquire equality. This is one of the main social forces inducing Zulu to be converted.

(5) Where two culture-groups are unequal in status and membership of them cannot be changed, some of the members of the inferior group who have failed to acquire equality with

[1] *Study of Culture Contact, op. cit.*, p. 84.

the superior group by adopting its culture, will tend to react strongly to the culture of their own group (under the principle of group-value of a group's endoculture). Thus many well-educated Zulu, having tried in vain to emulate Whites, react strongly to Zulu culture.[1]

(6) A final example of the form of process which I consider can be formulated to analyse individuals' role in social change: two or more sets of group-interests may intersect in a single social personality, and this partially resolves the conflicts of those interests, though this personality is caught in strong personal conflicts.[2] Thus Zulu chiefs, bureaucrats in Government administration at the same time as they are the heads of their tribes opposed to that administration, introduce culture from the White group to the Zulu.

Note : Under the processes described in this section individuals appear to be faced with an absolute conflict between their own behaviour and the values they hold as members of a group. However, generally a social system is full of similar contradiction and has not consistency in itself, but the conflicts are solved since individuals can act by different values in different situations. Therefore the individual solves many conflicts by what Evans-Pritchard has admirably termed situational selection and secondary elaboration of belief.[3]

IX. Conclusion : Some Illustrations from Zululand of the Application of these Processes

The processes formulated above are by no means exhaustive. I hope in a later article to formulate others. I lack space to consider what happens to customs during the operation of these processes.

My argument is that, by formulating processes on these lines and relating them to the working of fundamental forces in a total changing situation the sociologist may be able to explain, and even predict, the obsolescence, revival and adoption of culture in a changing society of heterogeneous culture-groups, by striking a balance between the processes of obsolescence, persistence, revival and adoption of culture. In this concluding section I show how they have worked in the history of two Zululand institutions.

Before doing so, I repeat yet again that, in the complicated web of actual events, no process appears alone. Many events and many laws of many types produce actual behaviour. Second, cause and effect are interdependent and all events are both causes and effects. Progressive intelligent men tend to find scope for their ability in education and Christianity, and Christians, freed from intellectually clogging beliefs and some suspicion of the Whites, tend to progress in the acceptance of White culture.

(1) *Beliefs in the ancestral-cult and in sorcery magic :* In Zululand, on the whole, the ancestral cult has largely died out while beliefs in sorcery and magic have survived. This is the more interesting as Government has attempted by force to eliminate the latter beliefs, though we have seen that Government pressure may be a factor in maintaining them under the processes on endoculture as a group-value. Reasons for this difference emerge from preceding sections in which I have deliberately chosen sorcery-magical and ancestral-cult practices as frequent examples.

The priest-heads of kinship groups at first opposed Christianity and attempted to maintain the ancestral-cult, for they reacted to Christianity as, among other things, an attack on the cult in which their position was part on their authority. However, once the number of Christians, converted for various reasons, in a particular group increased, the dying out of the ancestral-cult practices was necessary to prevent the break-up of the resulting mixed group of pagans and Christians, and kinship heads co-operated in this. However, there are signs, under the processes of endoculture revival in group-opposition and the interpretation of new conflicts by the obsolescence of old endoculture, that attempts to revive the cult may be made soon.

The above analysis applies less to the political ancestral-cult than to the family ancestral-cult.

[1] See my articles in *African Political Systems* and *Bantu Studies*, June 1940, pp. 170, 165. Unfortunately I can give no statistics.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 165-6, 170.
[3] *Witchcraft among the Azande, op. cit.* See also my articles in *Bantu Studies* referred to at the beginning of this article.

Like kinship groups, tribes are composed of both pagans and Christians. However, there has been a greater tendency for the ancestral-cult of chiefs to survive as it marked Zulu opposition to Whites. The relation of the chief to his ancestors and tribal traditions is one of the bases of his antithesis to the magistrate,[1] and only the chiefs', not families', ancestors could acquire these political values.

The ancestral-cult has social boundaries in the kinship group, sorcery-magical beliefs have not. Because of this difference, sorcery-magical beliefs could be extended to the increasing range of relationships outside the kinship group, both with other Zulu and with Whites. I need not repeat these processes (see especially Section VI). The ancestral-cult is also dependent on kinship hierarchies, magic can be applied in relationships threatening them. Thus we have seen how sorcery-magical beliefs could express the emergence in Zulu kinship groups themselves of new and old conflicts, while the ancestral-cult could not.

However, Western emphasis on heavy production and acquisition of individual wealth must tend to destroy beliefs in sorcery, which are related to an economic system with little variation in productiveness or wealth, though at present increased competition for work for Whites and greater variations in wealth have strengthened the fear of sorcery.

(2) *The extended family :* The Zulu social relationships which have persisted longest through great changes in sociological relations, are those of kinship. The transient bilateral and polygynous families, with links to two sets of kin, are reproductive and economic units. The extended family is largely united today by joint production. The establishment of peace and the introduction of wage-paid work, which give young sons and junior brothers the chance to be independent, have divided the homesteads of extended families, but their constituent families after fission tend to build close together and speak of themselves as, "we are one homestead." They generally split and expand within a limited area of land owned by the patrilineal extended family, and this is a common interest holding them together at the same time as it is the centre of conflicts causing the splitting. Farming is still organised within the family and extended family which generally remain basic economic units. The absence of men at labour centres makes it necessary for them to co-operate in the care of their families, land and herds. Even for young men struggling to be independent, work for wages is only one of a man's economic activities, and the spatial dichotomy of these activities requires that the timing of absences, like the allocation of farming tasks, be made within a group. Inevitably it was made in kinship groups.

Work for the Whites has necessitated mutual help in the stress of new conditions, and thus (in addition to patrilineal) matrilineal, affinal, and mere neighbourly, relationships still fix patterns of assistance, through changes in the cultural idiom. (E.g. help with money instead of cattle; under the kings kinsmen shared huts in military barracks, today they go to work and live together.) These are relationships which could be adapted to old continuing, and to new, modes of co-operation, with Whites and in the Zulu group: therefore they, and their essential distinguishing culture, have survived.

Christianity has broken into the homogeneous groups of kin, and money and White goods have introduced consumable wealth which makes possible a divergence in standards of living, though it is small, for all Zulu wages are low. The effects and values of industrialism and Christianity are straining the relationships of men and women, of parents and children, and of siblings. New conflicts are thus being created between new and old values. Conflicts which were repressed before now emerge overtly, as is shown in the charges of sorcery against relatives never accused in earlier times. However, the changes in social organisation, and the development of alternative modes of behaviour, not only create new conflicts but also create conditions which allow their resolution by situational action. Labour migration offers a son or junior brother the chance to escape from family difficulties. Despite the development of new disturbing forces

[1] See my article in *African Political Systems, op. cit.*

in the extended family, the increasing number of alternative modes of behaviour has often prevented open breaches, where strong sentimental attachment alone would have failed.

EASY ENGLISH FOR AFRICANS

By EDWARD ROUX

Various attempts are being made in South Africa to publish literature in English specially designed for African adults. Books and pamphlets are needed on such subjects as hygiene, agriculture, trade union organisation, economics and politics, elementary science, history, etc. It is agreed that these books should be written in simple language. There are of course on the market many books written for English children, but these in general are unsuitable for African adults, being lacking in content and appeal. Ordinary books for English adults contain too many difficult words. Africans as a group have not yet got the reading habit. Even those who come into frequent contact with English, and speak it with some fluency, as a rule read very little. The ordinary English text presents many difficulties in the form of difficult words, uncommon expressions, and references and allusions which are meaningless to the average African reader. Difficulties with language make reading a task rather than a pleasure.

These new books and pamphlets will be intended for the general Bantu public. They will not be school books (though there is no reason why some of them should not be used in schools) and the readers will not in general have the assistance of teachers in helping them to read and understand them. It is generally agreed that the writers will be materially assisted if they have at their disposal some system of simple English, based on a limited vocabulary of words actually used or understood by Africans.

Increasing interest is being shown by public bodies, such as certain municipalities and the Institute of Race Relations, in providing better library facilities for Non-Europeans. Libraries will gain in usefulness if they are stocked with readable literature. In addition there is a vast number of potential readers throughout the country who would buy books if they were cheap and written in simple English, and if the existence of these books were brought to their notice. The Bantu newspapers, with a combined circulation running into tens of thousands, would prove an excellent advertising medium for a postal order business in books.

Another use for a special vocabulary may be found in the columns of the Bantu newspapers themselves. All Bantu papers have one or more pages in English, and in the case of the so-called "national newspapers" (like the *Bantu World* and *Umteteli*) the bulk of the matter is in English. This is a reflection of the fact that English is already established as the lingua franca of a large part of Africa. Unfortunately only a few spasmodic attempts have been made to use simplified English. In fact contributions in English from African writers are often written in grandiose style with frequent use of long words (sometimes used incorrectly). Editors of Bantu newspapers should be encouraged to use simple English as much as possible. The reason they have not done so more frequently in the past is probably because it is not easy to write simply and because they have not known of any system of simplified English.

A special vocabulary of words well-known to Africans should also be valuable to lecturers, health demonstrators, social workers, radio announcers, and all who try to "put things across" to Africans through the medium of English.

REACTIONS OF AFRICANS TO SIMPLIFIED ENGLISH

An attempt to provide special education, special books, or a special vocabulary for Africans is bound to meet with a certain amount of opposition, especially from the more sophisticated or nationally minded Africans. I have met with numerous instances of such opposition. When introducing a new book written for Africans I was asked by students in a night school J. C. class, "Why does it say on the cover 'for Africans?"

Why does it not just say "a reading book?'" The line of reasoning was something like this: "We Africans desire to become civilised and to learn everything Europeans learn. Special education for Africans means inferior education, just as all the other special things for Africans are inferior things. We want the same books as the Europeans." The tremendous opposition to the attempt by the Hertzog Government to introduce a special curriculum for Native schools and to transfer control of Native education from the Education Department to the Native Affairs Departmant was an expression of the same idea.

The suspicion which Africans have for anything specially designed for them (like the inferior jam, labeled "To be sold to Non-Europeans only") has been thoroughly justified by past events. At the same time the journey from tribalism to western civilisation can be eased by special considerations of all kinds. The sophisticated African must realise that alone he cannot fight the battle for national freedom. He may be able to understand long words and complicated English, but the average rank-and-filer cannot. One of the great shortcomings of the African movement is the gap between the "leaders" and the masses. (See *Africa Emergent* by W. M. Macmillan for a discussion of this problem.) To bridge the gap between the educated and the half-educated it is necessary to overcome the snobbishness of the former and raise the cultural level of the latter. There are many ways of doing this and books is one of them. We cannot talk of mass education through the medium of English unless we make use of special books written in a special vocabulary. These books need not be inferior in content. There is no reason why they should not be superior in many ways to much of the literature which White South Africans read.

Nevertheless editors and publishers should take account of the hostility with which a special vocabulary may be regarded. It might be tactful not to give books or articles the label "special" or indicate that they are written in a simplified style. They should be well advertised and given attractive titles. Provided the subject matter is interesting, the new literature will claim an increasing circle of readers. Even the sophisticated may be attracted, for many of them in fact read very little, the general literature which they are able to get being either unattractive or (though they may not confess it) too difficult for them.

CHOICE OF A SIMPLIFIED SYSTEM FOR AFRICA

Before discussing the problems connected with the choice of a simplified system I want to emphasise strongly the purpose for which it is required. This has already been stated but it will avoid misunderstanding if it is stated again. It is to help authors and editors to write in English so that they will be understood by the greatest possible number of African readers who already know a certain amount of English. It is not intended primarily for the use of teachers, though teachers may find it useful. It is not an attempt to create a new international language or to eclipse Basic English (which has its uses in another sphere). It makes no claims to semantic perfection. It is not a rigid system, but will be subject to modification from time to time as more experience is gained in its use.

I became convinced of the need of a special vocabulary and method of writing English for Africans as a result of many years' experience in editing newspapers, writing articles and pamphlets, lecturing and teaching. At first I simply tried to write or speak simply without any set rules or vocabulary. Then I heard of Basic English. I edited a paper in Basic (*the African Defender*) for some years and produced the *Mayibuye Reader* (in Basic). I also experimented with West's *New Method* and with the General Service List in the *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection*.[1]

Of the different systems tried, Basic was the most promising. It consists of 850 words chosen for their usefulness. The Basic vocabulary is a defining vocabulary: by its use practically any idea can be expressed in English and the Basic Dictionary gives Basic synonyms for

[1] Published by P. S. King & Son, London, 1936.

7,500 words (now increased to 25,000). Basic aims at becoming an international language. A Chinese who had mastered the 850 words and their uses could converse with a Negro who had done the same and both could make themselves understood to anyone with a knowledge of normal English.

The disadvantages of Basic as a medium for books for Africans are, firstly, that its vocabulary contains over 200 words which are not commonly used or understood by rank-and-file Africans who speak English, and secondly that it is very difficult for one who already has a knowledge of normal English to write or speak it correctly. This second disadvantage is a result of an ingenious feature of Basic, its elimination of the verb. Only some eighteen verbal forms, known as "operatives," are allowed, e.g. give, get, put, take, be, etc. These are combined with nouns, adjectives and "directional words" (prepositions) to give the meanings of verbs. Thus *disembark* becomes *get off a ship*, *enter* becomes *go in*, *want* becomes *have a desire for*, and so on. While this technique undoubtedly has its uses in eliminating some difficult verbs, the insistence on the complete exclusion of verbal forms, apart from the operatives, makes Basic very difficult to write correctly for one already accustomed to English verbal usage. Even those with a fair knowledge of English grammar frequently lapse into using verbs when they are supposed to be writing Basic. We should expect the average writer in Bantu newspapers to find it difficult to write good Basic with ease. Apart from this, verbs are, next to nouns, perhaps the most important constituents of the Bantu languages, and verbal usage is well understood by Africans.

Most other systems of simple English appear to be based on estimates of word frequency. Thus there are systems based on the 1000 most common words and others based on the 2000 most common words. West's New Method Readers present a graded series in which new words and phrases are introduced more or less in the order of their frequency in general literature.

These word-frequency systems have been severely criticised by Basic protagonists because a list, for example, of the 1000 most common words, will contain large numbers of unnecessary synonyms, while excluding vitally necessary words which happen to fall outside the first thousand.

Apart from this, these word frequency lists, of which there are several, are based on material derived from books, newspapers, business correspondence, and so on. They are based on the written and not on the spoken word. Now obviously the English words which Africans most commonly use or understand are those which they meet in everyday speech with employers, friends, fellow-workers, police, officials. A list of the commonest English words used in everyday conversation in South Africa would be very useful. No such list exists. If we had one, it would not be sufficient simply to take it over as our special vocabulary, because the books we want to write deal with things like hygiene, science and history, which do not form the subject matter of everyday conversation.

Our final choice of a system of simple English suited to our purpose must therefore be based on a number of considerations.

(1) It must be adequate for writing books for adult Africans dealing with the problems of the modern world.

(2) It must as far as possible consist of words understood by African readers.

(3) It must also be made easy for the writer, because we want African authors and editors to use it too.

At the end of this article is printed a list of 1000 words intended to serve as a first draft for a vocabulary of easy English for the use of writers and speakers. In compiling this vocabulary frequent reference was made to the Basic list and to the General Service list in the Interim Report.

The first step was to make a list of approximately 1000 useful words well known to Africans. In deciding whether a given word or expression was well known or not I have tried as far as possible to use objective evidence. When there was any doubt, the words or phrases in question were combined into sentences and tried out on adult African students in the night school at Cape Town. Only students who had not passed

Standard V were used in the tests. The class usually numbered about twenty and ranged from beginners to those who had passed Standard IV in mission school.[1] The students were asked whether they understood the test words, the other words in the sentences being explained to them if they did not know them already. Their answers were checked by further questioning or by asking them to use the words in sentences of their own. Each word was given a score, this being the number who understood it divided by the total number in the class, and this was expressed as a percentage. Words which scored less than 60 per cent. were considered "not well known."

A few additional words were added as a result of an investigation of the Bantu languages. The South African Bantu have been in contact with English-speaking people for more than a century and a considerable number of English words (more or less Bantu-ised) have been adopted by Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho. Most of these are the names of common objects of civilisation (e.g. box, police, school, railway) but there are also a few verbs and an adjective or two. I assumed that all these could be included in a list of words well known to Africans. Actually the bulk of them were already in the list.[2]

The second step was to remove from the list what appeared to be unnecessary synonyms. Here again tests were made with students in the night school to determine which words in any group of synonyms should be rejected and which retained. In dealing with dual meanings the same method was followed. Where a word had two distinct meanings it was decided to use it only in its best known sense. Where both senses appeared to be equally well undersootd it was still thought desirable to exclude one of the senses for the sake of economy and to avoid confusion. This of course only applied where there was another word in the vocabulary capable of taking over the excluded sense. Thus *certain* and *sure* were both retained, but *certain* was restricted to the sense in e.g. *a certain day*. Similarly *kind* was limited to mean *good natured*, its other sense being supplied by *sort*. Some of these features were adopted from Basic, as was also the exclusion of *shall* in favour of *will*.

The third step consisted in testing the vocabulary in practice—to see whether it was possible to write everything one wanted to write without going beyond its limits; or, to put it in another way, to find out to what extent the words inside the vocabulary could be used in defining words outside the vocabulary. A manuscript of fifty pages I had written on farming and health in Africa was translated, and a pamphlet *Education through Reading* was written directly in the new vocabulary. As a result of this experience a number of modifications were made in the list, some words being added and others removed. Some of the new words were not quite as well known as those already on the list.

The 1000 word vocabulary here presented is obviously inferior to the Basic list both in defining power and word economy. This follows inevitably from the restrictions imposed in selecting it. It is hoped to improve its defining power as a result of further investigations in which workers both in Johannesburg and Cape Town are participating.[1]

Shortcomings in word-economy do not matter so much. It is better to use a larger number of better known words than a smaller number of less known words. For example, Basic uses *cord* as an equivalent of both *rope* and *string*; but in the night school class *string* scored 100 per cent and *rope* 95 per cent, as against *cord* 35 per cent. Also there is no reason why the vocabulary should be restricted to exactly 1000 words. Additional

[1] In the majority of cases an interval of many years had elapsed between a student's leaving mission school and his admission to the night school. During this period his vocabulary had probably been enlarged considerably.

[2] I wish to thank Dr. van de Merwe, of the Department of African Studies, of the University of Cape Town, for the ready help he gave in this aspect of the investigation.

[1] Mrs. E. B. Jones has suggested that in addition to determining the *words* most commonly used and understood by Africans we should investigate the *structural forms* which they prefer in English because they correspond more closely to those used in their own languages.

words will lead to greater fluency of expression. It is only necessary to insist that they shall be words well known to Africans.

The draft list has 686 words in common with Palmer and Hornby's *Thousand Word English ;* 702 words in common with the " A words " in West's *Definition Vocabulary ;* and 669 words in common with Basic English (including the " international words.") It has 489 words in common with all three of these and only 76 words peculiar to itself. Many of the latter are words having a special South African significance, like *ox, Native, location, pass* and *magistrate.*

The Vocabulary in Use. In general, derivatives and compounds formed from words in the vocabulary should be allowed. The reader who knows the root word will usually understand the meanings of its regular derivatives when he meets them in a familiar context. Thus we may include all regular plurals and past tenses, as well as most derivatives in -er, -ing, -ed, -ly, -ness, and -ment, as well as any other derivatives the sense of which seems to follow obviously from the meaning of the root word. Similarly the use of nouns as verbs and verbs as nouns may be permitted in most cases. But with irregular or " strong " derivatives we cannot always be sure that the meanings will be clear. Thus *poverty, youth, motion* and *sight* do not follow obviously from *poor, young, move* and *see.*

It has not been possible to avoid a considerable number of irregular verbs. 78 in all have been included. Of these 18 are Basic " operatives " and presumably necessary in any vocabulary. Three have regular as well as irregular forms. Four are " perfect " verbs (i.e. they have the same form in the past as in the present). There remain 53 irregular verbs. These are all fairly well known in the present tense. The average African reader we have in mind will probably understand almost all of their past tenses when he meets them in a context. Writing or speaking a foreign language correctly is notoriously more difficult than reading it. Five out of ten may say and write " I have eat my food " or " I have came," but the chances are that all ten will understand " I have eaten my food " or " I have come " when they hear these words spoken or see them in writing.

Further Research.—The list here presented is a first draft. Further reasearch is proceeding on the Witwatersrand and in other centres. Criticism and suggestions for improving the vocabulary will be welcomed by the writer, whose address is Euglena, Queen Road, Rondebosch, Cape.

APPENDIX

A Suggested Vocabulary for use in Writing for Africans

NOTE: The writer may use all the ordinary compounds and derivatives from these words, such as plurals, past tenses, derivatives in -er, -ing, -ed, -y, -ness and -ment, and also any other derivatives which seem to follow obviously from the listed words, e.g. *warmth* from *warm*, *educate* from *education*, *dangerous* from *danger*, etc. But words like *destruction*, *motion* and *sight* do not follow obviously from *destroy*, *move* and *see*, and should not be used. Instead the writer should use *destroying*, *moving* and *seeing*. And so on.

Some of the words may be used only in a certain way, others in a number of different ways. For this reason they have been listed as nouns, noun-verbs, verbs, adjectives, adjective-verbs, etc. This also implies that some words which have two distinct meanings are limited to one meaning. Thus *kind* is used only as an adjective with the meaning " good natured ; " for its other meaning we must use the noun *sort*. Where a word has two distinct meanings and these are both allowed it is followed by a (2). A big A after a word indicates that it has a special meaning in South Africa.

There are a number of other restrictions which it has not been possible to indicate in this way. The words concerned are marked with " x " in the general list and the ways in which they are *not* to be used are given below together with the correct equivalents.

able=clever
(This means that we may say " He is able to go " but we cannot say " He is an able man." The correct usage is " He is a clever man ").
bank of river=edge or side of river
beat=hit
call=shout
certain=sure
count : it does not count=it is not important
cry=shout
even=smooth, the same
far : far better=much better
fast=quick
for : he was hungry, for he had not eaten=he was hungry because, etc.
get : got to go=must go
hard : hardly any=nearly no, very little
just=right
let=take rent for
lie=tell lies
light=not heavy
owe : owing to=because of
pick=choose
place : to take place=to happen
post :=pole, job, place
present : at present=now, nowadays
press : printing press=printing machine ; the press=the newspapers
purpose : this is known chiefly in the phrase " on purpose "
race=nation or people
respect : with respect to=speaking of
rest : the rest=the others, what is left
short : shortly=soon : to be short of=not to have enough
still=quiet
tear/s : to tear=to break
that : the man that did this=the man who, etc. the thing that I saw=the thing which, etc.
too : take this too=take this also
wild=angry
without=outside
word : to give one's word=to promise
yard=open place at back of house
spring=beginning of summer.

NOUNS:

afternoon	army	bank x	bell	blanket	book
air	ash	basin	belt	blood	boot
airplane	baby	basket	bicycle	board	brass
animal	back adv.	bean	bioscope	boat	bottle
ant	bag	bed	bird	body, anybody,	bottom
apple	ball	bee	bit	etc.	box
	band	beer	blade	bone	boy

brain
brake
bread
brick
bridge
brother
bucket
bus
bush
business busy
cage
cake
camera
captain
car
card
cart
cat
cement
chair
chalk
chance
cheese
chemist
chest
child
chimney
chin
chocolate
Christmas
church
cigarette
class
clock o'clock
clothes cloth
cloud
coal
coat
coffee
collar
copper
corner
cotton
council
country
court
cow
cup
cushion
dam
danger
date
daughter
day
devil
diamond
dinner
dirt dirty
dog
donkey
door
drum
duck
ear
earth
east adj.
edge
education
egg
elastic adj.
electricity
elephant
enemy
engine
evening
example
eye
factory
family
father
feather
fever
field
finger
fire
fish
flag
flame
floor
flour
flower
food
fool
foot
forest
fork
fowl
friend
fright
front
fruit
furniture
garden
gate
girl
glass
glove
goat
god
gold
government govern
grandfather, etc.
grass
gun
hair
half
hand
handkerchief
handle
hat
head
heart
hill
history
hole
holiday
home
hook
horn
horse
hospital
hotel
hour
house
husband
hut
ice
idea
inch
ink
insect
interest
jelly
job
juice
kettle
key
king
kitchen
knee
knife
knot
lady
lamp
land
language
law
leaf
leather
leg
lesson
letter
lid
lie
life
line
lion
lip
list
loaf
location A
lot
machine
magistrate
man
map
market
master
mat
matches
meal
mealie/s
meat
medicine
middle
mile
mine
minute
money
monkey
month
moon
morning
mother
motor-car
mountain
mouse
mouth
mud
music
nation
native A
neck
needle
nest
net
night, to-night
noise
north adj.
nose
note
number
nut
office
orange
ox
page
paper
parcel
part
party
peace
peach
pen
pencil
penny
people
person
photograph
picture
piece
pig
pipe
place x
plank
plate
plenty
pocket
pole
police
pot
potato
pound (2)
powder
present x
price
prison
purpose x
quarter
queen
question
railway
rat
razor
relation
religion
rice
river
road
roof
room
root
rope
rubber
rubbish
ruler
saddle
sand
saucer
saw
scale
school
scissors
sea
seat
seed
self
sense
sentence
shadow
shame
shape
sheep
sheet
shelf
shilling
ship
shirt
shoe
shoulder
side
signal
silk adj.
silver
sister
size
skin
sky
slate
snake
soap
sock/s
soil
soldier
son
sort
soup
south adj.
spade
sponge
spoon
spring x
stamp
star
station
stem
step/s
stick
stockings
stomach
stone
story
stove
strap
street
strength
string
stuff
sugar
suit
summer
sun
surprise
table
tail

tap
tea
tear/s x
tent
thing
throat
thumb
thunder
ticket
time
tin
tobacco
toe
tomorrow
tongue
tool
tooth
top
town
train
tray
tree
trousers
umbrella
village
voice
wall
war
wax
way
weather
week
west
wheat
wheel
wife
wind
window
wine
wing
winter
wire
woman
wood
wool
word x
world
worm
yard x
year
yesterday

NOUN-VERBS

answer
arm
bath
beat x
bite
blame
branch
break
breakfast
brush
burn
burst adj.
butter
button
camp
care
cause
chain
change
charge
chop
climb
colour
comb
cook
copy
cork
cost
cough
cover
cross
cut
damage
dance
dip A
doctor
drink
dream
dress
drop
dust
end
excuse
face
fall
farm
fence
fight
finish
fix
fly
fold
frame
guess
hammer
hate
help
hit
hold
hope
hurry
hurt
iron
join
judge
jump
kick
kiss
knock
laugh
lead
lift
light adj. x
lock
look
love
mark
measure
milk
mistake
move
nail (2)
name
need
notice
nurse
offer
oil
paint
pass A
paste
pay
pick x
pin
plant
play
plough
point
poison
polish
post x
press x
print
promise
pull
pump
push
race x
rain
rent
respect x
rest x
ride
ring (2)
roll
rub
run
sail
screw
shake
share
shave
shine
shop
shout
show
sleep
slip
slope
smell
smile
smoke
snow
sound
spit
start
stay
steam
stop
store
suck
swim
talk
taste
tax
telephone
throw
tie
touch
trade
travel
trick
trouble
try
tune
turn
twist
type
use
vote
wait
walk
want
wash
waste
watch (2)
water
wave
whip
whistle
wipe
work

VERBS

agree
ask
bake
be
become
begin
believe
belong
bend
blow
boil
borrow
breathe
bring
build
buy
call x
can
carry, carriage (railway)
catch
choose
come
count x
cry x
destroy
die
dig
do
drown
drive
eat
feel
find
follow
forget
get x
give
go
grow
hang
happen
have
hear
hide
keep
kill
know(ledge)
learn
leave
lend
let x
lie x
listen
live
lose
make
manage
marry
may
mean
meet
mend
mix
must
ought
owe x
please
pray
pretend
punish
put
read
remember
save
say
see
seem
sell
send
serve servant
sew
shoot (shot)
sing (song)
sit
spoil
spend
stand
steal
suppose
swallow
sweep
take
teach
tell
think n. thought
understand
unite (union)
wake
wear
weigh
will
win
write

ADJECTIVES

able x (prefer "can")
angry
bad
beautiful
best
better
big
bitter
black
blue
born
brown
certain x
cheap
cheeky
clever
dear
deep
different
early
easy
far x
fast x
flat
fresh
full
greedy
green
grey
happy
hard x
healthy
heavy
high
hot
hungry (hunger)
important
kind
late
lazy
left
little
long
loose
loud
low
lucky
mad
near
new/s
next
ordinary
pretty
quick
quite
ready
real
red
ripe
rough
round
sad
safe
sharp
short x
slow
small
smooth
soft
sorry sorrow
sour
special
steady
sticky
stiff
straight
strange
strong
sure
tall
thick
thin
thirsty
tight
tired
true (truth)
ugly
usual
weak
white
wide
wild x
wonderful
worse
worth
yellow

ADJECTIVE-NOUNS

chief
cold
dark
dead
English
fat
few
first
good/s
many
old
other
past
poor
quiet
rich(es)
right (2)
salt
same
second (2)
secret
sick
some
square
sweet/s
whole
wrong
young

ADJECTIVE-VERBS

clean
clear
dry
empty
free freedom
last (n.)
like
open
shut
warm
wet

STRUCTURAL WORDS

a, an
about
above
across
after
again
against
ago
all
alone
already
also
always
among
and
any
as
at
away
because
before
behind
besides
between
but
by
(of) course
down
enough
even x
ever
every
except
for x
forward
from
good-bye
he (him)
her
here
his
how
hullo
I (me)
if
in
inside
it
just x
least
less
more
most
much
my (mine)
never
no
none
not
now
off
of
often
on
once
only
or
our
out
over
perhaps
she (her)
so
soon
still x
such
than
thank-you
that (those) x
the
their
then
there
they (them)
this (these)
those
though
through
till
to
together
too x
twice
under
up
very
we (us)
well adj. n.
what
when
where
which
while
who (whom)
whose
why
with
without x
yes
yet
you
your

Also numerals, days of the week, months of the year. Mr., Mrs., Miss.

SOME ASPECTS OF ZULU LITERATURE

By B. W. VILAKAZI

What we call Zulu literature today is a scanty body of books which try to record mostly the history of the Zulu peoples in their past wanderings, migrations, and warfare. The writers have not lived the events they try to portray. They have either got the matter for their books from traditional tales or, as is the case with the younger writers, they have written down in Zulu what they have read from English records of past Zulu history. So that books by such writers as Hugh Bryan, Josiah Tyler, Bishop Colenso, Rider-Haggard, Father Bryant and many others, have in some way stimulated Zulu authors to begin writing in their own tongue. Those who have written down traditional tales belong to the first group of writers who laid the foundation for Zulu literature but they were untutored in the intricacies of literary art. They had gone to elementary schools if we judge them according to our present standards of the rise of Native education. The second group of writers includes one or two of the old writers, but is augmented by those who have gone to school and passed some Departmental examination. These Departmental examinations do not include a thorough study of vernacular books, so that up to now a child coming out of school can hardly pass a criticism on any author, or differentiate in styles. Our educational system only demands from a child that he has read a certain book and that he can reproduce the matter without personal comments.

The writer remembers fifteen years ago when he and other students were supposed to go througt J. A. Stuart's books *UBaxoxele* and *UThulasizwe*. We did not read the books and we knew that our examiners could easily be deceived for they were not interested in the Zulu literature paper. They saw nothing to bother about in correcting Zulu papers "since every Zulu student knew his language very well." In fact we never wrote any compositions—the very first step to self-expression in book writing. But we were forced to write correct English essays and our minds were made to think in terms of English idiom, even though our teachers were insufficiently versed in English. That has been the cause of the scanty body of books in Zulu. Our writing began in a foreign language and we thought of making a hallmark of fame among English authors, which of course we have found to be impossible.

Before I go into the literature of Zulu itself, I must define my conception of the word literature and, for that matter, Zulu literature. Literature in a broad sense means a "whole body of literary compositions and output in any language." If we remember that, before even the civilisation of man began, his language was an accomplished fact, then we must agree that the history of literature in any language really begins long before men ever learned to write. It must have begun round the camp-fires after a victory or the annihilation of enemies. It must have begun in primitive yells and shouts which later became coherent and identified themselves with the rhythm of dance. Then we have the history of a war-song. Not only would these war-songs speak of victory but they would stimulate blood-thirst in the hearts of warriors during peaceful times. One of these famous songs was used in 1878 to stimulate fever for the Great Zulu War. This song had been used in 1856 in the battle of the sons of Mpande at Ndondokusuka:

"*Izwe lonke*
OkaNdaß' uzithulele !
Kaqali muntu ?
Nang' uZithulele : Eyaye !
Sinik' aßafo : Eyaye !
Wo ! Wo ! sinikaßafo, wo !"

"The whole world knows
Ndaba's son is peaceful !
Does he not pick quarrels ?

Watch him, this Peaceful-one, *Eyaye !*
Now give us enemies, *Eyaye !*
Woe to them ! Give us the enemies,
Woe betide them ! "

These war-songs became a typical feature of all ceremonies in some form or other. They would tell of the prowess of the king and heroes, or would be composed to suit the occasion of some religious ceremony, as in the case of burials. The words would always be rhythmic. Here we have the *origin of poetry*—the so-called *izibongo*. There is specific rhythm in the following lines in praise of Dinizulu, King of the Zulus :—

1. *Umgwazi kaqhaqhi,*
   Uqhaqhelwa zinyoni
   Mkhonto kaShaka noDingane.
2. *Ingweny' edlel' okhunjini lomfula*
   Ngaphezulw' isaß' ukuhlatshwa,
   Ithikamezwe yimiseße yelanga.
3. *Inkunz' eßomvu kaShaka*
   Eaßeth' iyahlaßa,
   Kant' ithißel' imihlambi yamadoda.

The lines have the dramatic air of a lost battle-field ; especially is this expressed in the last three lines :

" He's Shaka red bull.
They thought him quarrelsome,
But he exercised dignity over crowds of men."

The first three lines begin on a very jovial note, as the poet saw the image of Shaka and Dingane in Dinizulu. Hence :

" A great stabber never skins his victims,
Only the birds of the air skin them,
O thou Spear of Shaka and Dingane."

Here are some lines from famous *izibongo* of warriors, just to illustrate further the note of victory and love of freedom in primitive poetry. The lines are traditional in form yet sensuous in response, for they give the listener a sense of substance in the achievement of others, as embodied in beauty of word, e.g.

" *Inyon' edl' ezinye, akukho muntu waqom' iZulu* " (A bird that feeds on other birds : no man will choose to stay with a king) from Menziwa kaMvundlana.

" *UZulu ladum' oßala, lapho kungemunga, kungemthole ?* " (Why should it thunder in the open where there are no mimosa trees ?) from Zulu kaNogandaya.

And that is why, in the history of most literatures, perfection is found to develop in poetry sooner than in prose. In Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho this has not been the case. In fact, Zulu literature is younger than Xhosa literature, which began with Bud Mbelle's *Kafir Scholar's Companion* (Lovedale Press, 1903), followed by Dr. Rubusana's *Zemk' Inkomo Magwalandini*, a collection of proverbs (London, 1906). Southern Sotho began in 1907 with two books: Sekese's *Mekhoa le maele a Basotho* (Basotho customs and proverbs), and Mofolo's *Moeti oa Bochabela* (The traveller to the world of light).

Zulu literature began only in 1922 with two books : Fuze's *Aßantu aßamnyama lapha ßavela ngakhona* and Duße's *Isitha esikhulu somuntu omnyama nguye uqoßo lwakhe.* In order to understand the meaning behind these two books one has to go back a little and study the history of the period previous to their publication. There had been a big political movement originating in Natal when Dr. J. L. Duße came back from America and England and founded Ohlange College and the journal *Ilanga laseNatal.* This political movement gave birth to the African National Congress. We will notice that Fuze unites the different peoples in his book and tells them of their one-ness, quoting in very good Zulu his sources of information. He visualises a united black people of the future in the light of their past history. The Congress stoqd for this unity. Dr. Rubusana in his book *Zemk' Inkomo Magwalandini* has already seen this, and the whole air of his book is a protest against Bantu disunity. Stuart's record of the Zulu Rebellion of 1906 seems to confirm my idea that political unity of which the Black peoples felt the urge, found itself in all the books of that period, 1905-1925. But as this period drew to a close Dr. Duße's vision of an accomplished unity seems to dwindle, and experience had taught him that the failure of the Black people is not wholly to be laid at the White man's door, but that most of it could be accounted for in the Black man's

insincerity to one another. Hence the title of his book *Isitha somuntu.*

Many interesting articles appear in the *Ilanga laseNatal* of this time. Most of them are useless as articles of literature, but they serve to gauge the then political trend of the Zulu people.

After the writing and publication of his book, Fuze disappeared altogether from the field of literature. Dr. Dube continued to write. In 1930 he wrote *Insila kaShaka,* a book that does him credit and wins for him a place among creditable writers. The book has been revised and enlarged. It approaches a novel; although the plot is not delicately handled, the style itself is wonderful. He has a very picturesque way of depicting scenery and battlefields. He lives the action and therefore thrills the reader:

"Wath' ukuba ayiphake okaNdaba ngaleyomini, lokhu ihlangabezana ehlanzeni leminqa nezinqawe, lapho imvula seyavula izindonga eqeleni, yezwakala imiDlenevu ukuthi isiyilumekile eqeleni, iziNdlondlo zathi, 'Niyadela nina esenilapho', lwasha uthuli, lilodwa-nje iqhawe elithi, 'Ngadla mina kaSobanibani, othize wathi, wathi.' Munye nje othi "Hlomu wethu! Lapho sekumenyezela inswani phakathi kwezinqawe, munye-nje ogingqikayo, munye-nje abamthuthela ngeklwa bamphose odongeni. Bayabukela abafana abaludibi, bebona laphaya. Ilembe eladla amanye, amashoba alo elila enyuka phakathi kwempi, lizihlabanela—kukhala inkumba lapho kuthi, thu-thu, thu! Kwabamnyama wangaqonda ukuthi izozala nkomoni. Zaziyisunduza ngenhla eyakoShaka, yaqala ukuhlehla ngoba isisindo sezitha sasingakuyo."

Not only is Dube good in the description of battlefields, but in other chapters his words are very pathetic. Here is one of the hero's friends condemned to death, and Shaka puts the hero on trial by ordering him to kill his friend at the appointed place of persecution:

"Bahamba basondela odongeni lapho sekumhlophe amathambo abantu; wazikhalela lomfo, wathi: 'Impela ngizobulawa uwe Jeqe?' Wamthela ngemvula yezinyembezi; lokhu uJeqe yiqhawe, kwaqubuka isihawu kuye naye wakhala, bahlala phansi bobabili bathula, amukho owakhulumisa omunye. Sathi iselelesi, 'Akusenani sale sewenza umthetho wenkosi nami kuyangikhanyela ukuthi kufanele ngife.'"

Instead of building up the story by some ingenuity of his own, using the historical background of Jeqe, the hero, Dr. Dube here fails. The book, which makes one feel that it could have been enlarged, suddenly comes to an end. *Ukuziphatha kahle* is another of Dube's books, but is of no literary importance.

With the ebb of the political upheaval in 1920 came the birth of a *Zulu Drama.* It was patterned on the same lines as European drama. Most of the plays written at that time were produced by college students at Adams and Mariannhill. The late Dr. C. T. Loram, with the aid of the Natal *Native Teachers' Journal,* published those which were mainly one-act plays dramatising mostly folk-tales. Because there was no interest in literary art and stage production, the dramatic movement died in its infancy; but some of these plays are to be found with the names of their authors in the *Native Teachers' Journal* of the years 1920-1922.

I remember a leading writer and amateur producer in the person of Francis Mkhize. In one of his plays *Ncazane* there appears the following dialogue:—

Isilwane: Shuka, shuka, kuhlaye mina (it sits down, then eats, and dances about). *Au, au, amnandi amashi! Angidjange ngiwedjwe enje* (it runs away).

Ncazane's sister: (Comes in with some more food). *Sawubona; sengathi awenamile namhla.* (Gives food to her sister and goes away). *Sala kahle.*

Voice of the Isilwane outside the stage: We Ncadjane, *wodjongibeyetha. Wodja Ncadjane.*

Ncazane: Angifuni. Ucabanga ngizolokhu ngibelethana nawe njalo?

Voice: Uthembathembeni Ncadjane? Ngashe ngifike ngikuklwebaklwebe khona manje. (Ncazane goes to it, carries it on her back, drops it down and runs round the table with the animal following and trying to scratch her).

Isilwane: (Stopping at the sight of food).

Ncadjane, okukaßani yokhu-kudja?
Ncazane: Okwami.
Isilwane: (Scratches Ncazane, and jumps on the stool). *Mush' ukuthi okwakho, wothi okwami.*
Ncazane: Hawu ßandla! Okwakho-ke.

The importance of these plays, which appear in Vol. I of the *Native Teachers' Journal* lies not in the style in which they were written, for this is very poor indeed, but in the rapid dramatic effect with which the movement and change of scene drift on the stage. The producer had to rely, not only on the written version, but on his knowledge of animal lore, language and behaviour. Secondly the importance of these plays lies in their later effect on the minds of students as they left school. In 1930 a big dramatic company started in Natal with the name of "The Lucky Stars." They expanded on these plays and travelled throughout the Union. They have greatly influenced Johannesburg Location productions, ever since their appearance in Johannesburg during the Empire Exhibition in 1936.

The dramatic movement came together with a revived interest in Zulu music. During the years that saw the birth of drama, we find that the productions were short and could not keep the audience interested through the evening entertainment. So someone had to supply music. With Native plays, songs in a foreign language were unsuitable. In the same volume of the "Teachers' Journal" we have the first Zulu song of lasting fame, *Ixhegwana* by Caluza. C. T. Caluza published the first book of his music in 1928, and it sold rapily. It is the only book of secular music ever published in Zulu. With Caluza are many Zulu song composers of talent who have piles of good songs, which will probably remain unknown to the world, unless some publisher takes an interest in this branch of literature. Among these writers I may mention Z. Ngubane of Pietermaritzburg, Sguy Khumalo of Durban, Edwin Cele of Groutville, Bernard Ngcoßo of Donnybrook. All these musicians compose in different veins, and their music varies from the influence of hymns and classics to the influence of modern jazz.

If we look back again at the list of authors who began with Dr. Duße we find one very informative writer, Rev. P. Lamula, the writer of *UZulu kaMalandela* (1927) and *Isabelo sikaZulu* (1936 ?). Lamula is a well-informed writer in history, and, unlike Fuze, his matter is original and worked in a style of his own, which makes his books readable and interesting. Unlike Rev. M. J. Mpanza, who in 1930 wrote *UGuqaßadele*, Lamula does not mar his books with irrelevant and tiresome moralisation at the end of every chapter. Lamula, though dealing with all the things contained in Mpanza's book, leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions from the statement of facts. Both Lamula and Mpanza give us valuable information in the line of ethnology, anthropology and Zulu history.

After 1930 there is a prolific production of Zulu books by many able and painstaking authors. Most of these books are school books, but among them I ought to pick out a few authors of outstanding ability. A small book *Woza nazo* by Violet Duße (Oxford Press) does very great credit to Zulu. We know very little about the history of the author, save that she is almost the only[1] Bantu woman author in South Africa. She has a gift for writing. While most of the authors who deal with folk-lore slavishly follow the tales, Violet Duße uses much of her imagination and inspires the legends with her own original descriptions and thereby lends intrinsic value and interest to her work. Her sentence formation with its easy flow and the use of ideophones still remains unsurpassed in Zulu. Her use of ideophones is approached by the joint effort of Nyongwana and Maseko in their translation of Stuart's *African Attila* (*UNkosißomvu*), another book with the best example of what I would call classic style, in standard Zulu. Mr. Nyongwana, one of the translators, was the first editor of the *Ilanga laseNatal* and has been in the literary field for a long time. This may account for the high standard of Zulu found in the book. The book itself is a compilation of extracts from the original

[1] The only other is Miss V. N. M. Swaartbooi, the authoress of the Xhosa story *UMandisa*.

African Attila and for that matter an attempt at biography.

The following is a description by the old hero, made to his own friend, telling of his exploits and the first hand-shake with his chief, a rare thing in Zululand:

"*Inkosi yathi kangisondele eduze kwayo—ngasondela. Yathi kangikhiphe isandla sami—ngasikhipha. Yayisingithi mfi esandleni—kuso lesi-nje—sake saßanjwa yiNkosi yezwenje lesi-sandla sami, ßaßa, usißona-nje—sona lesi.*"

Note the effect of the use of the enclitic *-nje*, and emphasis laid on the possessives, and alliteration of demonstrative phrases to draw the reader's attention.

Another translation appeared during the same period. This was Rider Haggard's *Nada the Lily* translated by Ntuli. To those who have read the original, Ntuli's translation is poor and very literal, and it destroys all the impressive beauty contained in the original.

At the same time there appeared another writer of great importance in Zulu. R. R. Dhlomo has concentrated on the history of Zulu kings. In this he has succeeded better than any other Zulu writer. Dhlomo, like Nyongwana who tranlated *African Attila* is a journalist of recognised ability. The *Forum* has called him a philosopher. This gift helps him to read and dissect human character with the fairness and differentiation required of a biographer. Within four years Dhlomo has written five books, a greater output than any Zulu writer of his period; these include biographical sketches of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande.

Made, another young writer who has come into the field, made a good impression with his novel *Indlafa yaseHarrisdale*. This novel is modelled better than Duße's *Insila kaShaka*. It is bigger and better balanced, though of course the language in which the story is portrayed cannot compare with Duße's. Made is a reader, and his novel is based on his reading. Duße is a man of experience, and his novel comes from the very life of the people. Made has also published two small volumes of essays on famous names in the pioneering field of Geography, History, Science and Religion. He calls these, *Amaqhawe omlando*. Another good book for history reasons is Luthango's *UMohlomi* telling of the wanderings of the Sotho tribe, the Bakwena, and eventually the rise of Moshesh.

I have tried here to bring in only important names of those I consider to have struck a definite line in the literary field of Zulu. I have left unmentioned many writers whose writings are only good for class-rooms and will not help to create lasting literary work for Zulu. Further I have left out many very valuable books which have been written by many Europeans, especially on the science of the Zulu language. Writers like Stuart have done a lot of good in recording many Zulu tales from the mouths and in the words of the old Zulus. But Stuart's books have no style, they are hard and uninteresting to read. They are a mine for many writers of the future. I am safe in saying that most of the Zulu authors have been roused to action by Stuart's books.

Before closing, I would like to pay a tribute to the Witwatersrand University Press on having started "The Bantu Treasury" Series in which have been published two books, one on poetry and the other a Zulu play by Ndeßele. Ndeßele's *UGußudele naMazimuzimu* is a successful experiment based on the short plays referred to in Vol. I of the "Teachers' Journal." His work is very original and his style in handling dialogue is so far commendable.

Zulu has so far produced no classics. By classics I mean writing or literary works of the first rank and acknowledged excellence because of their artistic quality. Even if this stage had been reached, there is no governing body which could decide on any classic in our Bantu languages in South Africa today. We have no critical opinions of men of taste and knowledge, whose qualifications today enable them to judge a work by certain positive standards. To pass a judgment on our present writers may be very committal, for the opinion of the connoisseurs may be accepted by the general public of today and later on rejected. The real decision is the verdict of posterity based on critical and independent opinions of men of taste and knowledge.

SOME RIDDLES OF THE MAKUA PEOPLE

Collected by LYNDON HARRIES

The following collection of some 250 riddles of the Makua tribe of Southern Tanganyika (Ruvuma district) has been made during seven years' residence among the people. It is only a very small part of the vast wealth of unrecorded Makua proverbs and stories. These riddles should be compared with the previously published[1] song-riddles from the Makua initiation-rites.

The spoken riddles are much easier of interpretation than the song-riddles, and of course many of them are found clothed in a different language in the folk-lore of other Bantu tribes.

The Makua jokingly say that to ask riddles or to tell stories in the day-time is tabu. A person who ignored this tabu would grow horns on his forehead. But in actual fact the tabu has lost much of its force nowadays. I have heard people tell stories and ask proverbs in the day-time quite often.

The riddle-maker begins by saying, *Cirandani*. The person whom he addresses and whose task it is to solve the riddle replies, *Ciŵire*, or *Campoteke*. Then the riddle is put to the hearer. *Cirandani* may be from the noun *ciranda*, a trap, used verbally with the usual verbal suffix *-ni* employed with the imperative or subjunctive 2nd. person plural verb forms.

Ciŵire means, Let it pass. *Campoteke* is said to be a Yao word, but none of the Yao whom I have consulted can supply the exact meaning.

The orthography is the same as that used in the collection of song-riddles, and the classification is the same.

1. *NATURAL PHENOMENA :*

1. R. *Atthitthi yakitaŵela ipace pīli, imoka yotthweliha, imoka yohitthweliha.*
   My father plaited for me two reed-baskets, one for playing with, one not for playing with.
   A. *Irimu niilapo.*
   Heaven and earth.
   Variant forms :
   Atthitthi ahokala namyalo mīli, mmoka wowehaweharu, mkina wotthikilelaca.
   My father has two knives, one for looking at, the other for cutting.
   Kakala namatato meli, nanſo kinorupela ɳimoka, nikina kihotthomea nculu.
   I have two reed-mats, but I sleep on the one, the other I have hung up.
2. R. *Umpata mwanhima, ulika umwomola saa, kimwateke, kuyataka mwanene.*
   To get a child, to try to drive him away without succeeding, let me beat him, and you beat yourself.
   A. *Iruŋgu.*
   Shadow.
   Variant forms :
   Kahorwa waamwetyaka, ŋkakampwanya mkina anakanle.
   I went to my sweetheart, and I found another person seated.
   Wanantopora kunommara.
   Even though you chase him you do not catch him.
   Kanepittha, yola ahopia.
   Even though I hide myself, this one arrives.
   Ila niila.
   This one (of things) and this one.
3. R. *Inama ikani inociŵa ukura, yonnuwaka kinociŵa tthotthoni, uŵeŋgia.*
   A very small animal which is tasty to eat, when it grows up it is not tasty any more, it is harmful.
   A. *Ncuwa.*
   The sun. (At midday the sun is fierce).
   Another form :
   Ula mtu-la kila nihuku anoŵira nanſo ipiro kinonia.
   This person passes every day, but the path is not seen.

[1] In *African Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 27-46.

4. R. *Nakala ntanda mwaŋkani cinene, kanorya ukela.*
There is a very small lake, it can't be entered.
A. *Nlimi nomoro.*
A flame of fire.
Variant forms:
Mwana mwaŋkani urukurerya.
A small child turning about.
Nikwata naamanyi ipepele kanoŵira.
Flies do not pass over mother's sore.
Yakala itu yohiŵira ipepele.
There is a thing which flies do not pass through.
Mwamwana mwaŋkani untthukumanela.
A very small child being shaked.

5. R. *Amwene anoŋgomaca ŵahiceni.*
The chief sits on a chair.
A. *Ukame.*
Dew.
Variant forms:
Aſana aMwalia onkyai ŵahiceru.
The children of Mwalia all on chairs.
Mwaſanuni-ani henɔtuna unworela ŵatthi?
What little bird does not want to come to rest on the ground?
Kukumaka ncuwa 'nno, watthaliha matato, ŵanoŵa naŵatelaka ncuwa 'nnɔ, onkyai utthama matatoni-mmo, ŵakenleaya wohacuwela.
The sun rises, (we) spread out mats, now when the sun climbs all leave the mats, without knowing (our knowing) where they went.

6. R. *Kinyikale inokinyikala.*
Let me tread on it, it treads on me.
A. *Maſi.*
Water.

7. R. *Itu yorera cinene wirela. Ɔgwe, mpani inokota.*
A very beautiful thing which (if you) say to it, Come on, something inside it refuses.
A. *Mweri.*
The moon.
Variant form:
Atthitthi yarwa uNihuma ŋkayeŵa ŋkopo, yawiheke ŋkawapeiya, ukura, wiciſu mnopwanya unari ndandali mnyiponi-mmo.
My father went to the Ruvuma and killed a sword-fish, when he brings it it is cooked, and eaten, in the morning you find it whole in the bowl. (Referring to the waning of the moon and the new moon).

8. R. *Ikopo yowonyia umaka, nno inopia.*
A stick which is thrown at the coast, it reaches here.
A. *Ipio.*
The wind.

9. R. *Mtthale tepatepa.*
A straight bamboo.
A. *Mwiſi.*
Smoke.

10. R. *Akala mtu mwaŋkani watana kunɔmorya nowata mwancao.*
There is a little person, if you fight with him you can't defeat him, you (only) beat yourself.
A. *Namaloŵe.*
Echo.

11. R. *Moromiha amwene.*
It makes a chief stoop down.
A. *Ipula.*
The rain.
Variant form:
Imata yaamanyi ahomorela atu otaliŵa myeto.
On my mother's shamba people with long legs have come down.

12. R. *Ɔne upahia mmu, mwiſi unokumela umaciŋgani.*
Tobacco is being burnt here, the smoke comes from the hills.
A. *Ityapwe.*
Mist.

13. R. *Ntthapwi ninci mikopo mīli.*
A large lake (and only) two sword-fish.
A. *Ncuwa nimweri.*
The sun and the moon.
Variant forms:
Ntanda nulupale ihopa pīli.
A big lake (and only) two fish.
Ipepa wannea wirinu, nno kalakala.
Flour put out to dry in heaven, here it reaches. (The whiteness of moonlight or the white glare of the sun).

14. R. *Milala caatthitthi cinannea uhiyu.*
My father's hypheane palm-strips are put out to dry at night.

A. *Itotwa.*
Star (sing. or plur.). The shining of the stars is suggested by the shining of the palm-strips).

2. *THE VEGETABLE WORLD :*

1. R. *Kahorwa waanlokwaka kahɔuntthelia icuŵe yolipa.*
I went to my friend and a hard piece of sugar-cane was broken for me.
A. *Mtthale.*
A bamboo. (Resembles sugar-cane a little).

2. R. *Tititi kamwela.*
Running he does not climb.
A. *Nyaſi.*
A reed of grass. (A man in a hurry makes his way through long grass by forcing it down : he cannot climb over it). *Tititi* is an ideophone for running fast.

3. R. *Nakiwehaka kihoumenya.*
Even though you look at me I have hit you.
A. *Ikokola,* or *mkukulu.*
Log of wood, or fallen stump of tree.
Variant forms :
Mpwa wiweha.
Stumbling, looking at one's self.
(*Mpwa* is an ideophone for stumbling.)
Munna, kiwehaka kihouwatani.
Brother, looking I have hit you. (Even though I thought I was looking I have stumbled over a log).

4. R. *Inupa yulupale kinowuŵa.*
A big house which does not leak.
A. *Mwembe.*
A mango-tree. (Some informants point out that the rain does fall under an *embe*-tree nevertheless).

5. R. *Nyoce nopwiriri namworaka kanopwea.*
The egg of the Smaller Animated Plum (bird) if it drops does not break.
A. *Ntthakuru.*
A leaf. (Does not break when it falls from a tree).

6. R. *Aſana aMwalia aciſuru onkyai kwerr.*
The children of Mwalia all (have) little red caps.
A. *Iwoko.*
Seeds of the *mmoko* tree, which are black with a red cap. (*Kwerr* is an ideophone for redness, also *pyu.*)
Variant forms :
Amirao aMwalia aciſuru okwila pyu.
The youths of Mwalia (have) red caps.
Aſana aMwalia ɔnkyai amwara ikisibau.
The children of Mwalia all wear waistcoats (Swahili, *kisibau,* pl. *ŵisibau*). (The red cap is the waistcoat).

7. R. *Mtu mulupale mitumba cikani.*
A big person (with) small loads.
A. *Mlapa.*
A boabab-tree.
Variant form :
Mtu mulupale nimitumba cawe.
A big person with his loads.

8. R. *Kahorwa waanlokwaka ykakapelia macuku otaliŵaca.*
I went to my friend and long vegetable marrows were cooked for me. (Pumpkins).
A. *Marikiriki.*
Fruit of the sausage-tree.
Variant form :
Karwa waanlokwaka, kahapelia macuku olipalipa.
I went to my friend, and hard pumpkins were cooked for me.

9. R. *Nikwecace ŵa nīnne mpetembe.*
Let us sweep here and dance the *mpetembe* dance.
A. *Iparika.*
Castor-oil seeds. (The seeds are put out to dry and the ground has to be swept first).

10. R. *Kahorwa waanlokwaka kahapelia n(d)rama ŵaculu uŵya ŵatthiŵa mene uŵya.*
I went to my friend and rice was cooked for me which was burnt at the top but not burnt at the bottom.
A. *Nihici nomanyaſi.*
A tuft of grass. (In bush fires the grass itself is burnt but the root remains).

11. R. *Itu yani yokonda ilimwe ?*
What thing flourishes in the dry season ?
A. *Nſaŋgwi.*
The *nſaŋgwi* tree, which blossoms only in the dry season.

12. R. *Kiwaka uwe kinona mcakarimo.*
Coming there I see light.
A. *Ipici.*
The fruit of the *mpici* tree, which is red at a distance.

13. R. *Mele yalaleaka mwecana kana nikolowele.*
Millet planted last year has no shoot.
A. *Ntthatthi wonakuwo.*
Stem of maize plant. (The stem of the maize left in the ground after the cutting does not, like the millet stem, shoot into new life).

14. R. *Kahorwa waanlokwaka, ŵano kahokoleaka kwiwaka wiya wiya.*
I went to my friend, now when returning I hear *wiya wiya.*
A. *Ipwiri.*
A kind of bean. (Swahili, *mbazi*). It crackles when dry in the pod.

Variant forms:

Weta inari eli, ŵanoŵa mkunanao ole ukwa iriyari-ipiro, ŵanoŵa weta tthotthoni, umpwanya mtu mkumi, umwata mtu mkumi ole, anomwiwaka ole okwa ole kunlaka.

To walk as two people, now your companion dies in the middle of the path (i.e. half-way), well then you go again, and you find a live person, you strike that live person, and that dead person is heard crying. [To go to with *ipwiri* seed (the companion), to plant it, it dies, you go again to the *shamba* and you find fresh seeds grown (the live person), you shake the seeds by hitting the plant, and the seeds in the pods (the dead person again) make a noise].

Kaketa ɣkakapwanya Mwislamu anakwile, ŵanoŵa kapieke ŵaŵale ɣkakera, Salamu alekum, ɣkawakula ntembo ole ɣkawera, Aleku salamu.

I went and met a dead Moslem, and when I arrived there I said, *Salamu alekum* (Arabic greeting), and the corpse replied, *Aleku salamu.* (The same idea of the beans rattling in the pod).

Yahokala atu okwa naatu akumi. Ŵanoŵa atu okwa ale kulumacaka nanfo ale atu akumi ale wohulumaca. Pifeni?

There were once dead people and live people. Now the dead people spoke, but the live people did not. What is it? *Ipwiri* again. The seeds in the pod are like the seeds sown in the ground, and they make a noise when the pod is rattled. The pod itself remains silent, so it is thought.

15. R. *Amirao owanuhu oɣkyai acufuru.*
The youths of our village all have caps.
A. *Maucu.*
A kind of green fruit, Swahili *mabiliŋgano.* At the base of the fruit near the stem is a sheath.

Variant:

Imbeyu ŵaɣkalaya kitthi ulia, yumakaru kinolia, nokuluŵela ufuŋgaru anakala utipulela matthapa.

Seeds which when fresh are eaten, which when they dry up are not eaten, but only kept and not pounded for relish. (Unless eaten fresh, like tomatoes, these fruits have no value).

16. R. *Nitthokole mafoŋga niŋhome Nluku.*
Let's sharpen an arrow and pierce God.
A. *Nnoti.*
The wild millet, the head of which points upwards.

Variant:

Inupa yaamanyi maŵakaru.
My mother's house is nothing but spears.

3. *THE ANIMAL WORLD:*

(a) Insects.

1. R. *Kahorwa waanlokwaka karuwelia ifima, yakuŵale umia mkina.*
I went to my friend and porridge was stirred for me, but the one who hastened to eat was another.
A. *Ipepele.*
Flies. (The fly began to eat the food first).

Variant:

Karwa waanlokwaka nkaƀaruwelia ifima, opacapaca ulya ipota aka.

I went to my friend and porridge was stirred for me, the first to eat was my slave.

2. R. *Ikoma yaatthitthi yowopelia utuli.*
My father's drums are beaten behind.
A. *Cempa.*
The countess beetle. (Makes a noise from its back).

3. R. *Mwiri mulupale unowela mwaɣkani.*
A big tree, a little one climbs it.
A. *Inenele.*
Small kind of ant,

4. R. *N(d)rupa waamwene kunona ŵaŵelaŵenleaya.*
The skin-bag of the chief, it is not seen where it ends.
A. *Ikoropa.*
A snail. (The twists of its shell).

5. R. *Mwanamanī akumaka mpani mwawe kanokela tthonittho?*
What kind of small animal is it that comes out of its home and never returns again?
A. *Iŋgumbi.*
Flying-ant.
Variant form:
Inupa yani yohulia iyittha, ilimwe wohihulia?
What house is it that is open in the wet season, and not open in the dry season?
Flying ants come out of their holes at the first big rains.

6. R. *Mŋgwe nitaŵace itaŵi neŵele inyaſa.*
Come let's make nets that we may kill the *inyaſa.*
A. *Randaſi.*
Spider. (The *inyaſa* is a small animal like a shrew).

7. R. *Karwa waanlokwaka ŋkayakiŵaka mkuhu woripa.*
I went to my friend and he gave me a black chain.
A. *Itthalaku.*
Driver-ants. (Black ants).

8. R. *Pitiku pitiku munhaŵani, menttho lume wohikala muru.*
Scuttling in the sand, eyes bulging without a head.
A. *Iŋkala.*
A crab. (*Pitiku* is an ideophone, duplicated for scuttling, with alternative duplicated ideophone *piriki*. *Lume* is another ideophone for extending, or bulging of certain objects).

(b) GAME ANIMALS, ETC.

1. R. *Kahorwa waanlokwaka kahountthelia icuŵe yohikala icisi.*
I went to my friend and a piece of sugar-cane was broken for me without notches.
A. *Inoa.*
A snake. Another word for *icisi* (notches) and pl. is *ipitu.*

2. R. *Iſeni inetania inupa yaaſuŋgu, ipiro yaaſuŋgu, aſana aſuŋgu, aſinene aſuŋgu?*
What is it that is called the Europeans' house, the Europeans' path, the children of Europeans themselves?
A. *Niŵala.*
A field-rat. Explained thus: *Mwitthe anerela, Niŵala naka nna. Manyanaŋgoro anera, Maŵala ala. Mpironi ineria, Maŵala aka ala, aſana anera, Maŵala ala.* They say to the rat-hole, This is my rat. The parents say, These are rats. In the path it is said, These are my rats, and the children say, These are rats. (The idea is rather obscure here, and the meaning seems to lie in the substitution of "Europeans" for the frequent mention of "rats" by all sections of the community. The rats are much sought after for food).

3. R. *Maſi tthaŵatthaŵa ŋnokiriha.*
Water up to the neck, he loses me.
A. *Σirei.*
The honey-bird. (Following the honey-bird in search of honey, he may lead you into deep water or get you lost).

4. R. *Inama yani yolikana ŋimahute?*
What animal is like the clouds?
A. *N(d)riya.*
A chameleon. (Different colours).

5. R. *Ikalai-yo yakala atu eli yari mpwana mwinci cinene tthottho cinene, pahi uwanyaya wari utai cinene. Yahapwanya itthala. Mmoka ole ŋkatthama unlela mkunanawe kwiria, Mŋgwe wuŵendani colya. Ŋkayatthama mpaka ucolyani, ŵano peiyaya. Pahi yapatakaru kulyelyaka colya nculu. Apani ala?*
Very long ago there were two people who were very close friends, well, their home was a great way off. Hunger met them. One of them set out to tell his friend saying, Get up (let us go) to beg food. And they set out as far as where there was food, and stole. When they had got (food) they ate the food high up. Who are these?

A. *Akole.*
Apes.

10. R. *Woweta niinupa.*
By walking with a house.
A. Kapa.
Tortoise. Variant forms:
Onohwi onohwi mawi mhinammo.
Onohwi onohwi dung inside.
Anohuwa manyatu ale weta niinupa.
Those people are troubled, to walk with a house.
Uwarani ikoti yerieke amwene.
Dressing you in a coat, let it be said, You are a chief.
N(d)rupa wokwatthapala hata mwene katuta.
A hard skin-bag that even a chief does not sew.

(c) DOMESTIC ANIMALS, ETC.

1. R. *Anokiweha ala.*
This one is looking at me.
A. *Mwalapwa.*
A dog.
Variant forms:
Kahorwa wampwanaka ykakakohacia mpironi.
I went to my friend and I was asked the news in the way.
(The dog barked as he made his way to his friends).
Kiwaka kinokuwelia.
As I come I am shouted at.

2. R. *N(d)rapala mhina inama watthe.*
Skin on the inside, flesh outside.
A. *Ifiniyki yolaku* or *itthanyaygo yolaku.*
Gizzard of a fowl.
Variant form:
Inamani iykawia mhina, watthe wohikawia?
What animal is it that is skinned inside, outside without being skinned?
(The gizzard itself can be eaten but the contents cannot.)

3. R. *Amirao onaMpotora milaru.*
The youths of Mpotora all have tails.
A. *Makule.*
House-rats.

4. R. *Wuruwuru kayano.*
Round with no mouth.
A. *Nyoce.*
An egg. (*Wuruwuru,* an ideophone for roundness: *kayano* is a contraction for *kaniri na-iyano*).
Variant forms:
Oweta kunyaraka oheta, oheta kunyaraka weta.
The walker gives birth to the non-walker, and the non-walker to the walker. (The hen and the egg).
Kinona makoci ene.
I see nothing but snail shells. (White like eggs).

5. R. *Weta utthela mawafa. Wano urwa mafeygoni, kahokoleeke, inupa imoka uhitthia ilaku yonyocolia, inupa ikwawe uhitthia ilaku wapeiya nimapururu aya. Wanowa wusia ifima inupa copili, kuwiheria mlopwana ole. Matthapa ombone pawi?*
To set out to marry two wives. Now to go to work, when I return, at one house a plucked fowl is killed, at the other house a fowl is cooked with its feathers. Now porridge is stirred in both houses, and brought to the husband. Which is the better relish?
A. *Ilaku yohinyocolia.*
The unplucked fowl. (A symbol of the wife who during her man's absence at work has not had intercourse with other men).

6. R. *Uhokala mwiri mmoka, irinta cefe cikitthi, matthakuru meli, irinta pili cowuma.*
There is a tree, it has four fresh branches, two leaves, and two dry branches.
A. *Ipuri.*
A goat. (The four fresh branches are the legs, the leaves are the ears, the two dry branches the horns).

4. *CROPS AND OTHER FOODS:*

1. R. *Inupa yaamanyi micoco.*
My mother's house (has) black ants.
A. *Uttheka.*
Beer. (Referring to the scum on the surface of the beer).

2. R. *Keropya.*
A contraction of '*Kera yowya,*' which means 'I thought about burning by fire.'

A. *Holoko.*

The *chokoro* bean. (When the pods dry they are black).

Variant forms :

Karukurerya mpirotthi naamanyi kinona ŵii.

I went round the eaves with my mother, I see blackness.

Kiwaka nno kinona ipipi.

If I come here I see darkness.

Kahorwa waamwetyaka ŋkakapwanya ilimaka, waŵara ayi, uwereia irutu aya. Ncuwa-ŵamuru wawereia cicammo, utekuwancuwa uwukuwa irutu ele. Anera, Mkilipihe ŵano, mhikihie. Piiseni?

I went to my sweetheart and I met her hoeing, to try to hold her ah ! she was sick. At noon she was ill in the same way, at evening the sickness became less. She says, Hold me tight now, do not leave me. What is that ?

Explained thus : *Holoko wicisiu makoŵa anowoloa kanoteuwa, utthana ummara ŵakani kuteuwaka ucecilo wammaraka kenoteuwa, makoŵa ahompewela.*

In the morning the *choroko* bean-pods are soft they do not burst, in the daytime (if you) hold them a little they burst, at eventide if you hold them they do not burst, the pods have relaxed.

3. R. *Inama yonuna ŵaculuru.*

Fat meat on the very top.

A. *Namara.*

The *lima* bean.

4. R. *Naŋguruŋguru mafi wawia ŵai?*

You round thing where did you get water ?

A. *N(d)raka* or *nikumbira.*

A water-melon.

Variant form :

The round thing where did he get water ?

Dguruŋguru, or *wuruŋge*, ideophone for roundness.

5. R. *Akala mtu oworya cinene utaŵaca matato menci, ataŵaka kanorupela mwanene anorupa ŵatthi.*

There is a person very clever at plaiting many mats, when he plaits them he does not sleep on them himself, he lies on the bare ground.

A. *Macuku.*

Pumpkins. (The ramifications of the stem and the fact that the pumpkin itself lies on the ground.)

Variant forms :

Karwa waanlokwaka, watthalelia ntato, ŵano mi-ŵa kakalatthale ŵatthi, ntato nno kuhiaka wohikalatthi ŵaculu ŵaya.

I went to my friend, a mat was spread, well now I lay on the ground, leaving the mat without lying on top of it.

Utaŵa matato wohirupela.

Plaiting mats without lying on them.

6. R. *Guju guju mun(d)rutuni.*

Rumbling in the store-basket.

A. *Itaa.*

Ground-nuts.

Variant forms :

Wuyuwuyu ukomani.

Rumbling at the drums. (The same idea of nuts making a noise when being dropped into the basket).

Ntthakuru ŵeruŵeru ŵatthi ciri colya.

The leaf flutters, beneath there is food.

Atthamile mtu mmoka atukanne nloko naatwaya urwa umaka nimwamwanaya. Apieke iriyari yopiro mwana ole ŋkakwa, ŋkayarwa umbwani ŋkayatthuma ikuwo, mwana ole anaŋhile wohikala ikuwo, isanda. Anompwanya nari niikuwo. Itu yani yeyo?

A certain person set out accompanied by his wife to go to the coast together with their child. When they reached half-way the child died, and they went on to the coast bought a cloth, for the child had died without a cloth, a winding-sheet. (On their return) they find him already with a cloth.

(The seed is sown without the shell ; the seed is put into the ground, as if it dies, then the new nuts have their shell).

7. R. *Mwako mulupale uwela nimatthattha.*

A big hill to climb with the hands.

A. *Isima.*

Native porridge.

Variant forms :

Mwako mulupale unolia nimakoko.

A big hill which is eaten with the fingers.

Ula mwako-la uhowunnuwaru unowelia niihattha.

This hill even though it be a full-sized one is climbed with the finger-nails.

8. R. *Mwaŵye ikopo natele akuTete.*
   Look for a stick, let us beat Mr. Tete.
   A. *Nanhakwa.*
   Semsem. (Referring to beating (*ukukuta*) the plant in order to separate the seeds.)

9. R. *Ilapo yonkyai alopwana orori.*
   The whole country, the men wear beards.
   A. *Nakuwo.*
   Maize. (Referring to the inner sheath-covering).

   Variant forms:

   Olipalipa ahonyara owoloaca, owoloaca ahonyara olipalipa.

   The hard one has borne the soft one, the soft one has born the hard one. (Maize seed is hard, the fruit, which will be hard if left for seed, is soft).

   Kahowia kapwiti aka ŋkakopela inama, ukaŵa, n(d)rapala uriha, marupo uriha, kukuraka inamaru.

   I took my gun and shot an animal, skinning it, I threw away the skin, and the entrails I threw away, eating only the meat. (Stripping the maize of its outer covering: the core of maize is also thrown away, cf. entrails).

10. R. *Inupa yaamanyi yohikala mkuryo.*
    My mother's house without a supporting side-post.
    A. *Ureŋka*, or *uyulu.*
    Mushroom.

    Variant forms:

    Inupa yaamanyi mkuryo mmoka.

    My mother's house (has) one supporting-post.

    Kahorwa waanlokwaka kahapelia ilaku yomweto mmoka.

    I went to my friend's and a fowl with one leg was cooked for me.

11. R. *Inama womwalaniha, wiŵa, ukaŵa, ukura kuhalaka n(d)rapala womolaka.*
    To separate an animal, to kill it, to skin it, to eat it leaving only the skin to be thrown away (lit. driven away).
    A. *Uyele.*
    Cowitch. (Eaten during times of food shortage; prepared by separating the seeds in their pods from the plant, then to strip the pods off. The skin (*n(d)rapala*) is symbolic of the empty pods.)

12. R. *Maſi emenle.*
    Water standing up.
    A. *Icuŵe.*
    Sugar-cane. (Sap in the stem).

13. R. *Amwene okwa lelo anoŵaria ilelolelo.*
    The chief dies today, (his successor) is chosen (lit. seized) the very same day.
    A. *Nnaŋgwa.*
    Cassava. (Uprooted, it can be planted back on the same day).

    Variant form:

    Nculu marikita, ŵatthi marikita.

    Above it is eaten, beneath it is eaten.

    (The leaves of the cassava-plant are eaten, and so are the roots. *Marikita*, an ideophonic noun, something eaten).

14. R. *Mwaſanuni urela ŵatthi, untthottholela moce nculu.*
    A little bird who lays its eggs on the ground, and the eggs hatch up above.
    A. *Mele.*
    Millet. (Planted beneath on the ground, the plant bears fruit high up on the stem).

    Variant forms:

    R. *Karwa uniŵiŋgani ŋkakeŵa itata, ŋkakawia nyaru.*
    I went hunting, and I killed a gazelle, and I took its ear.
    A. *Nyele.*
    Ear of millet.

    Ikomà winnia ŵatthi, ikelaka waluwelia ncula.

    The circumcision-dance being performed beneath, they come out of the dance (and of the rites) above.

    (Explanation as in the first riddle with Millet for its answer).

15. R. *Mmini mmòka ihipa cinci.*
    One handle many hoes.
    A. *Inika.*
    Bananas (on the branch).

    Variant forms:

    Kakala na-ihipa cinci, kakaſera mmini mmoka.

    I had many hoes, I fitted on one handle.

    Ukukuma ukukuma uNaŋgadi.

Blown about, blown about at *Naŋgadi*. (The banana-leaves at Nangadi, a place well known for its plentiful supply of bananas).

16. R. *Yanotthoaka kinoſuŋgea imbeyu.*
Even though it is scarce the seed is not kept.
A. *Maaka.*
Salt. (Not planted of course).

17. R. *AſinaMwalia oŋkyai ifilimbiru.*
All of Mwalia's people (have) whistles.
A. *Ikacu.*
Cashew-nuts. (The nut is the whistle, the fruit the person).

Variant forms:

Inama umwiŵa, kuŋkuraka mkitthi, ŵanoŵa muru ole waŵihera wowoſa.

To kill a beast, to eat him raw, then to anticipate roasting the head. (The beast is the fruit of the cashew tree and the head is the nut which is roasted).

Mwarwaka utthakwani wiŵa inama, utupula muru, uciſa māruru, inama ele uhia ŵaŵale, mwawakaru nihuku nonayeli mnopwanya inonnuwale.

When you go to the forest to kill a beast, you cut the head, you take the ears, leaving the beast there, and when you come on the second day you find it has grown up (again).

(Referring again to taking the nut off the fruit, leaving the nut which is the seed that bears fruit again).

18. R. *Kamwia kapwiti wopela inama, ukaŵa n(d)rapala nne, uriha, ukaŵa n(d)rapala nikwawe, uriha, inama ele wapea, yatokoteke inama ele uriha kuryaka mhuciru.*

I took a gun to shoot an animal, I skinned it, threw (the skin away), took off another skin, threw it away, cooked the animal, when it was cooked I threw the flesh away, eating only the gravy.

A. *Ikole.*
A coco-nut. (Stripped of outer coverings, then the nut is put in water, and ultimately thrown away when the coco-nut juice has been extracted).

5. *THE HUMAN BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS:*

1. R. *Imata yaamanyi yulupale, worulakaru mēle ŵakani.*
My mother's *shamba* is big, if you strip it (there is only) a little millet.
A. *Ikarari.*
Hair of the head. (The head is big but the amount of shaven hair comparatively small).

Variant forms:

Imata yulupale, uhata ŵale, ŵano kukelaka utthikilaca.

A big *shamba*, to clear the ground there, then for the cutting. (Before cutting the hair, a Native comb is used, called *iŵacero*).

Imata yulupale, ukuŋgula colya, matthatthani kacincala.

A big *shamba*, harvesting the food, it is not a handful, lit. in the palms it does not fill.

Ulima imata kukuti, nanſo wopata mttheloni ama mpaceni.

To hoe a very big *shamba* (*kukuti*, ideophone for bigness), but for the getting (it is) in the sifting-basket or in the small plaited basket. (The harvest is so small that it can be contained in their basket).

2. R. *Ilaku yaamanyi yorela ŵamīwani.*
My mother's chicken lays among thorns.
A. *Nlimi.*
The tongue. (The tongue in the midst of the teeth).

3. R. *Mwan(d)rupa worete, uhela ipika, ulya mpaka umaka, uhokolea mpaka uwani.*
The little bag of the skin of a shrew, to put food for the journey in it, to eat (the food) as far as the coast, to return home.
A. *Ikoŵe.*
Sleep. (*Ipika*, the food for the journey, lasted the whole journey back and fore even though it was put into a very small bag. The little bag is compared to the eyes which, though small, sleep the night through).

Variant forms:

Ikopo yowonyia umaka, oŋkyai nno okwaca.

A stick which is thrown at the coast, everybody here dies. (All sleep as though they had all been hit down by a stick).

Wile nitthwelihane.
Let it be sun-set so that we can play together.

Mmera watthekela ndinya atu oŋkyai ukela, olupale, aſinamwane, oŋkyai ukela,

The circumcision-lodge (nest) that the *ndinya* bird built all people go into it, elders, children, all enter in.

4. R. *Yetelo imoka ukopelele.*
   One code of behaviour across the river.
   A. *Nittho.*
   The eye. (Each day the country across the river looks the same).
   Variant forms:
   R. *Ipolowolo pili cinopia ukopelele.*
   Two bullets reach across the river.
   A. *Menttho.*
   The eyes.

Mtu mmoka ahopaka umpwana, ŵamwawe uyo pakile ole kanunla, ŵamwawe pakie apiaka mpani mwawe ole pakile ole akelelihaka wanlu.

A certain person made a friendship, when the one who made the friendship comes he does not cry, when the one with whom the friendship was made comes into the house of the one who made the friendship he enters crying. (Explained thus: when you look at a piece of wood you may rejoice the eyes have made a friendship with the wood, but when the piece of wood enters your eye it brings tears).

5. R. *Mwiri mulupale matthakuru mēli.*
   A big tree (with) two leaves.
   A. *Māru.*
   The ears.
   Variant forms:

Uhokala mwan(d)rupa mwaŋkani, uhela citu coŋkyai coŵelaponi, kuncala mpaka ukwa wao.

There is a little skin-bag, putting in it all things on earth, it is not full until death. (The skin-bag is the ear into which sounds come every day).

Imaŧa yulupale mnoha mīri mīli.

A big *shamba* (in which) you leave two trees.

Aſimirao eli yatukelana co, Nyuŵa mmireke uwo, mi-ŵa nno, nahimane, nanſo kanakumane ninlelo.

Two boys agreed thus, You pass there, and I here, let us meet: but they have not yet met up to today. (The boys are the ears which do not meet).

7. R. *Mluku akala na-ihipa nimmini, nanſo ihipa ele kuntthiaka kuhakala mmini, kila iyaka wuntthia nanſo mmini unohala. Iſeni?*
   God has a hoe and a handle (of the hoe), but the hoe (the iron part) breaks and the handle is left, every year it (the hoe) breaks but the handle remains. What is it?
   A. *Uhinini.*
   The gums. (The teeth decay, but the gums remain).
8. R. *Ihokaia itu inokuſehu kila nihuku nanſo yulupale, tthotthoni yolemela. Itu yani yeyo?*
   There is something which we carry every day and it is a big thing, and heavy beside. What thing is that?
   A. *Muru.*
   The head.
9. R. *Karwa waanlokwaka kahorupa ŵepipi ikuni cinariwo.*
   I went to my friend and slept in the dark even though firewood was there.
   A. *Myeto.*
   The legs. (The legs are compared to pieces of firewood).
10. R. *Iya inika iya kila yaryale holya.*
    These bananas every one born has eaten them.
    A. *Mapele.*
    The breasts.
11. R. *Ala naala utunana.*
    This one and this one love each other.
    A. *Nittho niipula.*
    The eye and the nose. (Because they are close together).
12. R. *Mwapocere apwiya ikuſalaya.*
    Receive from the grandparent what he carried.
    A. *Ipwii.*
    Grey hairs. (Handing grey hairs to those who come after).
13. R. *Iyopwe yaamwene kimalia utinta.*
    The cooking-pot of the chief never finishes being scooped out of.
    A. *Mamila.*
    Mucus.
    Variant forms:
    Nttheretthere unokuma umwakoni.
    Something descending comes from the hill. (*Ntiheretthere*, an ideophonic noun from *tthere*, of descending: cf. derived verb *ttherenea*, descend, go down from).

Mwanyipo kahopelela naamanyi nihuku nayariaka, ɣkakahelia matthapa nenno nihuku nno, ulya piwuwo mpaka ukwa, matthapa wohimala.

I was moulded a little cooking-pot by my mother on the day when I was born, and relish was put into it and for me on that day, that's where the eating is (where I get food) until death, without the relish being finished.

14. R. *Hatahata arupe amwene.*

Flatten the grass down and let the chief lie down.

A. *Maŵi.*

Human faeces. (*Hatahata* is an ideophone for lying flat, of grass. The grass must be flattened down before defecating).

Variant forms:

Muluſe nirupe.

Make him fall down, let us lie down.

Mwapula nimwatthari awe.

A little rain and its little thunder. (*Maŵi namanyoco*, faeces and urine).

Nikwecace ŵa nimpatthele mwene.

Let us sweep here and make the chief fall down.

Itthapa ureaca ŵatthi, inama cawaca utthamiha itthapa eiyo, inama ɣkacaŵiraca, ciŵiraka ureaca tthotthoni.

Setting a trap below, the animals come (then) to take away that trap, the animals passed, when they pass to set (the trap) again. (The process of defecation).

Urwa ukotoni, umenyana, utawa wahia askariru yatanaka.

To go to war, to fight, to run away leaving the soldiers fighting by themselves.

Intumbelia wohiwerya.

Being lame without being hurt. (*Weta ntumbela*, to walk like a cripple, stooping down).

15. R. *Kapwiti umopa, ipolowolo inowomalela ŵaŵa.*

To fire a gun, the bullet will finish (its course) here (where the gun is fired).

A. *Manyoco.*

Urine.

Variant forms:

Hukula upacera umwomola ŵaŵa mpaka utai, nowokwela ŵa.

To begin to drive away a hare from here to a great distance, it will die here.

Inama yani yopela ŵakanleaka ŵa, inowokwela ŵa cicammo?

What animal is aimed at where I am here, and will die here also?

Untupuluſa ŵa, uwaka wamwiŵela ŵa.

To drive him away, (he) comes, you kill him here.

Urendo ukela ucitu, kihinaye upia upia akwawe ŵahari ninikwaha naya.

To go on a journey to a place, before I arrive others arrive whose journey it was not. (The same idea as when we say of a very fat man that his stomach arrived before himself).

16. R. *Mkupula okame, ntthukwa niri utuli.*

A stick for shaking off the dew, the abdomen is behind.

A. *Mpanja*, or *mpaca.*

The shin.

Mkupula, a noun derived from the ideophone *kupulu*, of shaking off, or of hurrying. A stick or some other object for shaking off the dew. The dew is the abdomen pictured as being behind, and compared to the leg muscles behind the shin.

Variant forms:

Sanyula manyasi, irukulu iri utuli.

Uproot the grass, the belly is behind.

Irukulu yorupalia utuli, wittho kanye.

The belly being full behind, in the front it is straight.

Wittho, face, in front, cf. *kapwiti uri wittho*, the gun is up, ready for firing. *Kanye*, ideophone for straightness.

17. R. *Kaŵira mipittho miceſe.*

I passed along four paths.

A. *Makoko.*

The fingers.

18. R. *Mahano aamwene amwara nikutthu nimoka.*

The chief's wife clothes one buttock.

A. *Ihattha*, or *nihattha.*

The finger-nail. (It does not go right round the finger).

Variant forms:

Uhokala mwiri mmoka, ŵatthi ŵa mkitthi, nculu mmo mpuwa oyo wowumma.

There is a tree, at the bottom it is fresh (wet, raw), at the top the foliage is dry.

Mtu mmoka akala naſone nikata nimoka, naŋko kila iyaka amun(d)riha naŋko nikata nimoka.

A certain person had one round of tobacco, every year however he lost it but there was (still) one round. (The reference here is to the growth of a fresh nail.)

19. R. *Mmo ukuma yolya anakala inupa iloko, uŵahia yayo aŋganyayo aceſe ayo kanowona hata.*

Food here coming from as many as a hundred houses, those receive but they are not satisfied.

A. *Māru nimīttho.*

Ears and eyes. (Never have enough of hearing and seeing).

20. R. *Aſulupale kanota nimuru.*

Old people do not get thin in the head (only the body).

A. *Mkundu.*

Buttocks. (Whether the body is thin or fat, the buttocks do not change).

21. R. *Yakala atu aceſe nimmirao mmoka, ŋkayarwa ulupatani, ŋkayeŵa inama cinci cinene sana. Ŵano atu aceſe ale ŋkayatthatthihana mtambara mmoka, ŵano mmirao ole maſeŋgo awe uhakela ipepele cihikorele nnamani-mwe.*

There were four men and a boy, and they went hunting, and they killed very many animals. Now those four men hoisted a load of meat on their shoulders, and the boy's job was to drive the flies away lest they rest on the meat.

A. *Yale atu aceſe ari myeto conama, mmirao ole mwila, inama ale irutu yomtu.*

Those four men are the legs of an animal, the boy is the tail, the meat is the body of a man. (A fusion here of two ideas, one of the tail of an animal switching to keep flies away, another of a man bothered by flies, but the second idea is not clearly expressed by my informant. It is better though to write what he said. It indicates that sometimes the riddle-maker himself fails to keep up the symbolism in a lengthy riddle).

6. *DOMESTIC LIFE:*

1. R. *Aſipulupu aneta araru.*

Companions walk in threes.

A. *Matuwa.*

Hearth-stones.

Variant forms:

Mararu-mararu mpaka umaka.

In threes as far as the coast.

Aſikuluwe aneta araru.

Small pigs go in threes.

2. R. *Mwikuta hoŵya utuli.*

Mwikuta is burnt behind.

A. *Itthari*, or *itthatthari.*

Bamboo platform forming a store above the *baraza* or in the house. *Mwikuta* or *mwikita* is the name given to one who comes between something and the light. The bamboo platform comes between the food stored and the fire beneath, and becomes blackened with the smoke of the fire.

Variant form:

Amanyi ahoŵya utuli.

My mother has burnt her back.

3. R. *Wakani kumiryeni.*

Come let me swallow you up.

A. *Inupa.*

House. (People going into a house, it is as though they had been swallowed up).

Variant forms:

Mkaleke nimīno cono mnanimanle.

If you had teeth you would have finished us up.

Mtu mulupale yolyawe anoīya ŵakani ŵakani.

A big person, his food he eats little by little. (People go in in ones or twos into a house).

4. R. *N(d)rapule mkikutuwele.*

Be satisfied with food, then annoy me.

A. *Ikori*, or *nlili.*

Bed.

Variant forms:

Mlyeke uwo mweke nikutthakuttheke.

Eat over there, come let us wrestle.

Ulyaka kukatakacaka.

If you eat then you will knock me about.

5. R. *Mtu mulupale nittho nimoca.*
A big person (with) one eye.
A. *Nlako.*
A door. (The key-hole of the lock is the eye).
Variant form:
Kaŵira kaŵira.
I passed and passed.

6. R. *Iluſi yanaMwalia amurya ŵamoka.*
The well of Mwalia, they drink of it together.
A. *Ipattho.*
The central pole of a house supporting the bamboo frame of the roof.
Variant form:
Amirao akuPetembe amwurerya ilu iluſi imoka.
The youths of Petembe (Chief) drink of one well.

7. R. *Σiya eyeya.* (Ideophonic for the state of life indicated in the answer).
A. *Mkwacuni.*
An orphan.
Variant form:
Okwela mm.
A bereaved person mm.
Mm (with a lift of the shoulder as the exclamation is made).

8. R. *Inupa yaamanyi aŋkela mmoka-mmoka.*
The house of my mother, they enter it one by one.
A. *Nihiye.*
A grave.
Variant form:
Mwanahimyaka ukota, ila inupa ela mnokela wohitthanana mwanene.
Even though you speak to refuse, you enter this house without wanting (to do so) yourself.

9. R. *Kahorwa waanlokwaka, kahorupa niitthala yolya inarimmo.*
I went to my friend's and slept hungry although food was there.
A. *Itura.*
Ash-heap. (The white ashes are reminiscent of flour).
Variant form:
Wakenle uŵitthia amwene mhokoleya ukwatiaka.
Where you went to bury the chief you return clapping your hands. (To clap or rub the hands clean after going to the ash-heap).

10. R. *Kumenye ninyu ukimenye.*
Let me fight you and you fight me.
A. *Mwanhima.*
A baby. Explained thus: *Mwana unciſa utuli untthanani awe anona ukiwerya, ŵekakacani ŵawe nomkuſa ole anona uwerya.*
To carry a baby behind, he (the baby) finds it hurts his back, and she who carries him finds it hurts her chest.

11. R. *Kinotthikinaca wonloŵe nimoka, kahorwa upaka unloko, unowiria ŵano, kapaŋgeke unloko oyo kakatunia, ŋkakandikelia ibarua yowomolia, alokwaka ayo kihonane. Kuŵiraka mahuku ŵakani kuŵahiaka ibarua yonayeli ineria, Mhokolee ŵano uwani, aleto ahomala upia.*
I marvel at one thing (lit. word), I went to make a friendship, well now it is said, When I make the friendship I am not wanted, and I was written a letter to drive me away, that I might not meet my friend. After a few days I receive a second letter which says, Return home (the friend's home) now, the visitor has already arrived.
A. *Uyaria womwana.*
The birth of a child. (Referring to the husband's exclusion from intercourse with his wife).

12. R. *Karwa mi-ŵa, kamwia kapwiti wopela inama, ŵana inama ele uwia uwani, kuwacaka atu oŋkyai nutelia waya utapelela inama ele. Aŋkiwihera ilaku, akina arupia, akina ikawo. Waſaka upitiŋgula caŵahiaka eiye kwaŵahaka akwawe, inama ele kuhiaka ŵaŵa, atu ale kumwareacaka, kukelaka uwanyaya.*
I went, I took a gun to shoot an animal, well now that animal I take it home, and all the people come with their rejoicing to celebrate (the shooting of) the animal. They bring me fowls, some (bring) shillings, others ladles. In the morning things change, what I received is given to others, the animal is left here, those people disperse, they go home.

A. *Amwene nihuku nowâria ncina.*
A chief the day he is seized (and given his) name. (The chiefs who come to instruct the new chief receive the presents brought to him by the people).

13. R. *Kahorwa umaka ɣkakatthuma ntaka, utthaparuſa mpaka utai, kapiheke uwani kinona myono miceſe tthu.*
I went to the coast and bought a cloth, Unfolding it (it stretched) far, (but) when I get home I find that (its length is) only four arms width.
A. *Atu.*
People. Explained thus: *Kwetaka utai kuhokoleaka kurupaka wâaɣkorini.* They walk far and return to sleep on a bed.

14. R. *Karwa utthuma ihipa, wânowâa kihokoleaka ukaſera kurwaka ulimani, wâno kalimeke, ihipa ele uwittha wânipuheni, wânipuheni wâle kupahaka atu, ihipa ele kuwâyaka kuhalaka mminiru.*
I went to buy a hoe, now returning to fasten the handle I went to hoe, well when I hoe, the hoe is hidden in a heap of rubbish, people burn the rubbish heap, and only the handle is left.
A. *Atu.*
People. Explained thus: *Ninari aſana ninomela mēno, noluwâlaka mēno anokulia kuhalaka iruturu.* While we are children we grow teeth, when we are old the teeth come out leaving only the body.

15. R. *Pwiya, mhokomala, yala atu otthe ala mnakuſa wêka?*
Master, you are very strong, all these people do you carry them by yourself?
A. *Hukula onupa.*
Central supporting tree of a house.

16. R. *Inika comatthalani kawo ahililye.*
The bananas of a deserted village, there is no one who does not eat of them.
A. *Wamwa nipele.*
To suck the breast.

17. R. *Nanahimyaka weta ilayo ela kumalaka ilapo ela pinotthepia kuhalaka itu yohilala.*
Even though we talk about walking this earth and then stop (talking) it is the earth which exceeds and there is left a thing without end.
A. *Inyaa.*
Footprints. (Even though you walked all over the earth, there would still be footprints in places that you had not been).

18. R. *Mtu mmoka atthama ɣkampwanya mtu ohalahala ɣkammara untuka, ɣkamwia uwani umweſa wâkokolani, aſimwamwetu yamunlumacaka nkaawêrya ikori yorupa.*
A certain person set out and met a madman, and he caught hold of him and tied him up and brought him to the village to put him on a rubbish heap, insects were stinging him, and they looked for a bed for him to lie on.
A. *Nitita nomanyaſi.*
A bundle of grass. (Is caught up and tied, brought to the village and put on bamboo poles (*u angwari*) to protect it from white-ants).

19. R. *Mkumalenyu utai, inowonleni itthala, ɣkamwapwanya pai, omutthi nuyo onculu, muntuna unwaka ari wâi?*
Where you come from is far distant, you are hungry, and you come across honey, underground (honey) and tree (lit. of above) honey, which will you scoop out?
A. *Alokwenyu payo omutthi ayo, onculu pamalaponi ayo. Mnokomwaka omutthi.*
Your relatives are the underground (honey), and the (honey) above are strangers. You will take the underground honey (because it is nearest to you). (You will prefer your own relatives to strangers).

20. R. *Ilaku yawaka yapacenre utetera mwecuri, weſa ntukuto, wâno urela kumo.*
My fowl began to cackle the year before last, it made a hole for laying eggs, but of laying eggs there is none.
A. *Mcele.*
A door-way. (The door creaks like a cackling hen: the hole in the bottom part of the door-frame for inserting a wooden fastener is like the hole for laying eggs: during the day there is nothing in it).

7. *UTENSILS AND OTHER OBJECTS:*

1. R. *Mtu mulupale malaku makani.*
   A big person (with) small lips (a small mouth).
   A. *N(d)rutu.*
   A large basket for storing grain. (The opening is small).
   Variant forms:
   Mtu mulupale anolihia.
   A big person is being fed. (Putting grain in the basket).
   Mwana mulupale anowera ulihia.
   A big child is being fed.

2. R. *Kinowaka uwo kinotthonyia.*
   I am coming there, I am being pointed the way.
   A. *Mmitthi.*
   Pestle. (The raised pestle can be seen sometimes before one reaches the people who are pounding).

3. R. *Mnireke uwo kinoŵira wonno nihimane.*
   You pass there, I will pass here, let us meet.
   A. *Nluto* or *ikulula.*
   A girdle. (Meets round the body).

4. R. *Unokiwehaka kihoruwanani.*
   You are looking at me, I have slandered you.
   A. *Mkukulu.*
   A log of wood. (Having stumbled, the stumbler looks at the log which caused him to stumble, i.e. which slandered him).

5. R. *Afanuni oNihuma anonya nfekeretthe.*
   Little birds of the Ruvuma pass water *nfekeretthe.*
   A. *Mhukulo.*
   Sifting-basket. (*Nfekeretthe* is an ideophone for the way the food sifts slowly through the basket:—Alternative ideophones with the same meaning are *ifecele, kamberembere.*

6. R. *Mwana ayariaka uŵahia ncina nenamwane, onnuwakaru uhia, uluŵakaru witania wonenne-nokalai 'nne.*
   When a child is born it receives a childhood name, when it grows up (the name is) abandoned, when he grows old he is called by the old name.
   A. *Itthelo.*
   Winnowing-basket. (A winnowing-basket while it is being plaited is called *niŵaŵa*, then when the final plaiting is completed it is called *itthelo* again).
   Variant forms:
   Itu yani inetania Musa nari mwaykani, uneliaka netania Luka, uluŵalaka kwitaniaka tthotthoni Musa?
   What thing is called *Musa* when it is small, when it is initiated it is called *Luka*, when it is old it is called *Musa* again?
   Pelya homala mēle.
   Pelya the millet is finished. (The winnowing is finished. *Pelya* is an ideophone for the sound of the remaining chaff separated from the grain.)

7. R. *Inupa yaamanyi yoykyai matororu.*
   The whole of my mother's house is of dead trees.
   A. *Kapwiti.*
   A gun.
   Variant forms:
   Atthiyana orera nikutu nimoka.
   A beautiful woman (with) one buttock. (The butt of the gun).
   Akala mtu mmoka ykanyara mwana nanfo nwana oyo kanokala wohipittherya mtu anakala ahipittheryeke itu nowuluwa.
   There was once a certain person and he bore a child, but the child does not live without leaning on someone, and unless he leans on something he falls down.

8. R. *Mafi-emaka anokela mwaykani.*
   The sea, a small one enters it.
   A. *Nimenjo.*
   Fish-hook.

9. R. *Wilwe nilepe msalaba.*
   Let it be sun-set so that we may draw a cross.
   A. *Mteteryo.*
   Wooden cross-piece placed behind a door at night in place of locking the door.
   Variant forms:—
   Karwa uNewara kimpwanya isiara inniaka, mirama ciliaka, ŵanoŵa yamwareacaka ŵasiarani ŵale ipiaka uwani oykyai anotthatthua inawarenle msalaba.

I went to Newala and found the *ziara* taking place, rice being eaten, well now, when they disperse at the *ziara* and arrive home they all change (into people who) wear a cross. (The Moslem preaching-festival is Ziara, also the name given to the place where the preaching, dancing and eating take place. Even Moslems shut their doors with pieces of wood in the form of a cross).

10. R. *Mwanhima mwaŋkani nimkonda awe.*
A small child and his loin-cloth.
A. *Isiŋgano.*
A needle. (The thread is the loin-cloth).
Variant form:
Inupa yaamanyi howa mwana otota.
A child-sewer (needle-man) has come to my mother's house. (Again the thread is indicated).

11. R. *Amwene anowereia utthakwani.*
The chief is ill in the forest.
A. *N(d)raŋko.*
A kind of trap. (The bent stick of the trap is like a person stooping from sickness).
Variant form:
Apwiya anokwa utthana.
My grandparent is dying, it is her back.

12. R. *Ceſeceſe mpaka umaka.*
In fours as far as the coast.
A. *Mateŋgu.*
Legs of a bed.

13. R. *Mtu ukuma umaka noromale.*
A person coming from the coast stooping down.
A. *Imbopo.*
A bill-hook.
Variant form:
Amwene anokwa yoromelo.
The chief dies stooping.

14. R. *Atthitthi naamanyi anoſeleliha wana.*
My father and mother keep the watching in fighting, i.e. fight until the morning.
A. *Iparatata* or *mitelo.*
The two wooden posts in between which and the door the two cross pieces are placed at night. (They are still there in the morning).

15. R. *Wile kituwe.*
Let the sun set so that we can rest.
A. *Irawe.*
Mortar. (After sun-set there is usually no more pounding).
Variant forms:
Mpuha waamwene.
The good fortune of the chief. (To have food for pounding and so too many mortars for pounding).
Mtu mulupale ŵaŵirenle nihuku anolya nanſo kammona.
A big person who eats every day but he is not satisfied.

16. R. *N(d)rupa waatthitthi wohiŵira ntthattha.*
My father's bag without a hand passing into it.
A. *Icupa*, or *ipotthiri*, or *icorocoro.*
A bottle. (You cannot put your hand in it.)

17. R. *Mhotelela.*
You are very white.
A. *Nſilo.*
A grinding-stone.
Variant:
Cotelela.
What is very white.

18. R. *Nakoko nolya matthakuru mwila unari mwittheni.*
The lizard eats leaves while its tail is in a hole in the ground.
A. *Ihipa.*
A hoe. (A part of the hoe is in the ground when in use).
Variant forms:
Itu yoturya ŵatthi mila coŋkyai ciri mpani.
Something which is pushed down, all the tails are inside. (The tails are the iron part of the hoe).
Inupa yulupale worupa myeto ŵatthe mūru ŵatthe.
A big house, (yet) for sleeping the legs and the head are outside. (The handle and its top are outside while the iron part is underground).

19. R. *Ŵariaŵariaru wohipaŋgelia etu.*
Being mauled about without doing anything (to deserve it).
A. *Ntthattha.*
Door of bamboos. (It has to be lifted to be moved).

20. R. *Amwene nahapwanya umaka, napwanyale anarimelale kalai, nloŵe nihawo ninlelo.*
We did not find the chief at the coast, we found him dead a long time, (but) the news of his death (lit. the word) is there even today.
A. *Nipalapata.*
A horn-trumpet. Explained thus: *Inama yakwile kalai, nanſo nipalapata ninoruma ninlelo.* The animal died long ago, but the trumpet sounds today. (The trumpet blown after an animal has been shot or trapped).

21. R. *Urapa urapa ŵeruwani tandaa.*
To bathe, to bathe, at the ant-hill *tandaa.*
A. *Iŵacero.*
Comb for the hair. (Of wetting the hair before combing it. *Tandaa* is an ideophone for lying nicely, of hair).
Variant form:
Urapa nkamweſa ŵaŵao tandali.
To bathe and I placed him there *tandali.*
Tandali is an ideophone for placing nicely,

22. R. *Inama utopora mnowoŵiwela utuli.*
To drive an animal away, you will kill him behind.
A. *Mkonda.*
Loin-cloth. (Passed through the legs and fastened behind).

23. R. *Kahorwa wampwanaka ɣkakatthalelia ntato nowonea ŵatthi.*
I went to my friend's and a mat was laid for me which was seen below (in the dark).
A. *Itende,* or *itere.*
A sleeping-mat. (Shines when new).

24. R. *Waripe anyara watele.*
What is black gives birth to what is white.
A. *Ikariko.*
A cooking-pot for porridge called *iſima.* (The porridge is white in the black pot).

25. R. *Napitu kenle witwara.*
The hippo went to follow himself around (i.e. turned round on himself).
A. *Iyope.*
A wooden spoon for porridge. (Goes in a circular movement when being used for dishing out porridge).

26. R. *Uwereia waamwene miteŋga cinomala.*
The illness of the chief, messengers are exhausted (i.e. so many of them that soon there will be no others to take them).
A. *Nciŋga wonui.*
Bee-hive. (In the daytime the bees fly out like messengers from the hive).

27. R. *Ikoma yaamwene inoruma, mkittho ŵattha.*
The drum of the chief is sounding, the sound (comes from) beneath.
A. *Inyukwa.*
Calabash pipe. The smoke of the pipe is drawn through the water in the calabash beneath the pipe-bowl, and a gurgling sound is made.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Colonial Research Committee

The Colonial Office has set up an Advisory Committee on Colonial Research. The members of the Committee are: The Rt. Hon. Lord Hailey (Chairman), Sir Edward Appleton, Professor A. V. Hill, Sir Edward Mellanby, and Dr. W. W. C. Topley.

At the first meeting of the Committee, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Viscount Cranborne, said: "Your Committee will have two functions. In the first place, it is to advise on schemes for assistance from the £500,000 a year which is provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for 'research and inquiry.' But this is only part of a wider function. We need a broad survey of the whole range of research in colonial studies. We need to know, first, what subjects ought to be studied; secondly, what is being done now; and thirdly, what can and should be done to fill the gaps.

There will undoubtedly be many applications from colonial Governments for assistance in making inquiries that will be of immediate practical value to them. I very much hope that you will not scorn such inquiries. It was the intention of the Government that your field should include all forms of inquiry: the ascertainment, collection and assessment of all facts that may be of value to the Colonial Empire. And yet, while we hope for results of practical value, we equally hope that you will feel free to assist in the development of more fundamental research. Too much official control may easily devitalise research.

Most of the Colonies are in the tropics. All questions relating to tropical health or tropical agriculture or tropical engineering will therefore come within your purview. Again, most of the Colonies are engaged in primary production, in agriculture rather than in industry. All questions relating to primary production will therefore have an interest to the Colonial Empire. Again, most of the Colonies are maritime: they are, or should be, interested in fisheries. Then, too, many parts of the Colonial Empire are inhabited by peoples who have only fairly recently come into contact with western civilisation. All questions relating to the development of such peoples and their relations with more advanced civilisations are therefore of interest to the Colonial Empire. Finally, there are large groupings of the Colonies geographically. There are, for instance, many Colonies in Africa. All scientific questions relating to Africa, and particularly to tropical Africa, will therefore come within your range of activities.

I hope the Committee will make it one of its objects to develop research work actually in the Colonial Empire itself. There has been in the last twenty years or so a rapid development of the educational institutions in the Colonies. It is of great value to them that research work should be associated with them."

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Report on Urban Natives

The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Social, Health, and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives (to which we referred in these notes last March) has now been published. (Government Printer, Pretoria. 2s. 6d.). It undoubtedly marks a new stage in the official recognition of the fact that an important section of the Bantu are now permanently urbanised.

The Committee was impressed above all by the poverty of the Native community, the ill-effects of which permeate the Native's entire social life. There is a growing tendency for Natives to bring their families to town with them. Here, however, the poverty of the Native worker is such that it is economically necessary for the wife as well as the husband to work and the children thus suffer from lack of family discipline. The Committee heard extensive evidence of the detrimental results of broken family life.

The Committee was favourably impressed by the growing understanding of many sections of the European community with regard to the

needs of the urban Native. This tendency was not only discernible among representatives of organisations specialising in Native problems, but amongst other groups as well. Sympathetic awareness of the problems was strikingly evident amongst witnesses representing the Dutch Reformed Church in the Free State, the Labour Party on the Rand, many industrialists and members of the medical and other professions.

While a growing body of public opinion regards the Native's social needs with understanding and sympathy, the Committee considers that it is still not sufficiently recognized that the Natives possess a dignity and self-respect of their own. Any policy which tends to undermine this fundamental characteristic will eventually react detrimentally upon the whole economic and social structure of the community. A progressive policy at this stage is not only justified from the point of view of the actual needs of the urban Native, but will undoubtedly ease the problems of racial adjustment which the Union will have to face to an increasing degree in the future.

The Committee proceeds to make numerous recommendations on various aspects of Native life in urban areas. It recommends, amongst other things, that Native trade unions be given administrative recognition; that Native social workers be employed; that old age pensions be granted to Natives; that the abolition of the pass laws be considered; that primary education be available to all Native children in the biggest towns of the Union; that, to combat malnutrition, communal feeding be provided on a selective basis; and that a scheme for family allowances be worked out by University groups or other competent bodies. Other topics dealt with are housing, health, transport, trading, and the relation of the central Government to local authorities.

The Report is signed by the Secretaries of the Departments of Native Affairs, Public Health, and Social Welfare, and by the Chairman of the Wage Board, Mr. F. McGregor, and Professor I. S. Fourie of the National Marketing Council.

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International Institute of African Languages and Cultures

Although it became necessary last year to suspend the publication of the journal *Africa*, the Bureau of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures has continued to function in London. Thanks to the co-operation of the Royal African Society, a regular quarterly Bulletin is now issued to members. The purpose of the Bulletin is to continue the bibliography which formed a feature of *Africa*, and to keep members in touch by notes and news of general interest, occasional articles, and reviews of new books. Though much occupied with war work, Sir Hanns Vischer is still able to supervise the production of this Bulletin and he is able to count on the assistance of two or three anthropologists in London. The Linguistic Committee of the Institute also continues its work under the chairmanship of Dr. Ida Ward and, as we noted in our last issue, the prize competition in African languages is to be held again next year.

The address of the Institute is still 17, Waterloo Place, London, S.W.I.

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Saving Africa's Soil

The presence in Britain of Belgian and French colonial administrators has led to the creation under the auspices of the Royal African Society of an international commission to study deforestation and soil erosion in tropical countries.

This commission has adopted a series of resolutions on the necessary measures to be taken to deal with problems discussed. These include, firstly, the Native custom of shifting cultivation; secondly, bush fires and the Native custom of burning the bush; thirdly, grazing; fourthly, soil erosion and reservation of forests; fifthly, regeneration of poor or exhausted soils.

The commission's findings are being circulated to neighbouring and other Governments concerned with Africa in the hope that agreed principles, both of doctrine and practice, may emerge, leading to a new, concerted effort to rid Africa and other tropical countries of a scourge threatening the habitability of large portions of the earth's surface.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Plan for Africa. By RITA HINDEN. A Report prepared for the Colonial Bureau of the Fabian Society. London: *Allen and Unwin.* 1941. pp. 224. 7s. 6d.

On reading this book one's first impression is of the enormous quantity of dry-as-dust stuff that Dr. Hinden must have consumed in order to produce this very readable volume. An increasing amount of information on the African dependencies is available in the form of departmental reports and the findings of commissions. But this unappetising material is never even handled by the average reader. In *Plan for Africa,* however, many illuminating facts are sorted out, digested and marshalled with admirable clarity for general consumption. One's only regret is that the price of the book may mean that it is chiefly purchased by those already interested in the subject and may not reach the many millions of comic-strip readers who have it in their power to influence Parliament.

Those who already see red when discussing the method of administering our African dependencies should take a sedative before casting an eye over the cold official facts contained in this book. It begins with a brief historical outline of British colonial policies, showing the two main recurrent questions to be: who shall possess the colonies, and how shall the colonial peoples be treated. The bulk of the book consists of a detailed description of two specimen territories—Northern Rhodesia, poverty-stricken and backward but to a certain extent inhabited and exploited by Europeans, and the Gold Coast—one of the wealthiest but most unhealthy African colonies, differing from Northern Rhodesia in that its main industry is one in which comparatively backward Africans can participate. Each is a balanced picture dealing with the physical background of the respective countries, their various stages of economic and social development, together with their official and commercial finances. In each case one fact is dominant, namely the subjugation of all policies (including the social services) to the development of paying propositions.

It is pointed out that Northern Rhodesia is a poor, dry and sparsely populated country. The Natives are badly under-nourished, disease-stricken, illiterate and backward in every sense. The administration has had to struggle against these overwhelming odds, only having at its command the pitiful funds squeezed from taxing the Native community and the few settlers. With the opening up of the copper belt came an appearance of prosperity, but in reality the country benefited but little from its one important asset. It is only able to import one-third of the value of its exports. The balance is disposed of abroad through the heavy royalties which are still paid to the British South Africa Company, a large proportion of the tax which goes to the British Exchequer, and the large profits distributed as dividends. Although revenue has doubled since the copper belt was opened, the social services are still in an elementary stage, half the country being without medical aid or schools, and comparatively nothing has been done through such means as agricultural education in rural areas to even up the lopsided development. Until Northern Rhodesia reaps a fuller measure of its own profits, Dr. Hinden says, there can be little hope that the masses will be properly nourished, educated or healed.

The Gold Coast, on the other hand, held remarkably good prospects for an even social and economic development of the whole territory. Cocoa, the main export commodity, can be produced by African small-holders so that the Native community should receive its full value. But here again our commercial organisations seem to have got the better of our altruistic administration. Most of the Native cocoa growers are now in the clutches of buyers who advance money on the security of the crop pledged at a figure much lower than the market value. The grower has received virtually no guidance, so by now he has cut all shade trees, overcrowded

and exhausted his soil, and allowed diseases to get hold of his trees. The result is that the industry, in common with the production of smaller export commodities, is on the decline. To these the discovery of valuable minerals was added. The granting of mining concessions was in the hands of the chiefs; the government imposed no safeguards, so the Africans through their ignorance gained little. Once again there is the same story of slightly raised revenue as a result of the increased exports, but that is nothing compared with the consistently high dividends paid abroad. Prospects for the future of the Gold Coast are not bright through haphazard and uneven development, as is shown by the fact that many articles of food which could be produced locally are still imported.

Dr. Hinden concludes her book with a few constructive suggestions. Chief among these are grants of capital for colonial development from the British Exchequer; encouraging the co-operative movement and evening up the internal economic development of the colonies. But much as could be done along these lines, the root of the problem is a moral one, having not only economic but also social manifestations. There appears to be no shortage of real wealth in the colonies, only a lack of the will and determination to exploit it for the benefit of the people. We must remember, however, that this is a criticism which can be levelled against world economics as a whole.

The book closes by remarking that the suggestions only hold so long "as the economic system that we know persists." Most people today are heartily sick of our economic system and increasingly realise that the profit-making motive is too insecure a basis for life in the twentieth century. The moral problem is how to make enough people want a change sufficiently to endure self-sacrifice and so benefit masses of other people. This is a problem outside the scope of the book, but raised by it, and one which will have to be faced, not only by those who plan for Africa, but also by the builders of the peace after the war.

R. J. B. Moore.

Political Representation of Africans in the Union. Johannesburg: *S.A. Institute of Race Relations.* 1942. 38 pp. 1s.

This interesting booklet is a symposium whose purpose is "to review the working of the new system introduced by the (Native Representation) Act, and to give Africans and non-Africans material for assessing the advantages and disadvantages of the system," which has now been in operation for five years. Some of the contributors are themselves representatives elected under the Act. The writers, with one exception, seem to have approached their subject with some such thought as this in their minds: "We do not regard the Native Representation Act as anything like a politically adequate form of representation. But it does exist. Let us see how it works, and what improvements may be suggested within its framework." This review is written with the same assumption in mind.

The scope of the symposium includes a summary of the Act; some criticisms of the electoral system; the role of the Native representatives in the Senate; the Parliamentary tactics adopted by the M.P.'s in the House of Assembly; and the views of leading Africans on certain features of the Act—especially on the working of the Native Representative Council. All these contributions are well worth studying; they raise important issues and provide useful information on a subject which is too little known.

There are, however, a number of serious omissions which detract from the value of the symposium as a comprehensive survey.

Firstly, no attempt is made to discuss the relation of the Act to the previously existing forms of representation contained in other statutes. What sort of relation is there between the elected Senators and the four Senators nominated by the Governor-General to represent Non-Europeans under the South Africa Act? Do they ever stand together in defence of Native interests (a bloc of eight in a Senate of 44 might conceivably have a powerful influence)? Again, what is the relationship between the elected representatives and the M.P.'s on the Native Affairs Commission?

It so often happens that when a policy-shaping

statute is put into effect, it has certain results—often of importance—in directions which its sponsors in Parliament had not foreseen. The Native Representation Act is no exception. One such bye-product arises out of the special position of the Native Affairs Department. This department has powers far wider than any other Government department; it has powers of edictal legislation on a wide range of topics; and, in more practical terms, it can and does take direct action on a host of matters intimately affecting Native lives—especially those local and other matters in which European interests are not vitally concerned, or are concerned only in such a way as does not affect any of the unformulated but very well understood principles of segregation. The position of the Municipal Native Affairs Departments is very similar. With the N.A.D. assuming the functions of what might well be regarded as a "state within a state," it is surely to be expected that the elected representatives would have plenty of opportunities to exert their influence on the officials of this "inner state," which influence is quite distinct from and independent of their activities in Parliament. This has in fact happened. Much of the work of the elected representatives in the past five years has, to judge from some of their election manifestos recently issued, been concerned directly with Native commissioners, magistrates, location superintendents, and other officials and official organizations. Very little indeed is known of these extra-Parliamentary activities of the elected representatives, and it is therefore a great pity that the subject has been entirely neglected in the symposium.

Another feature of the Act whose implications were not entirely foreseen, was the stimulus given to political organizations throughout the country. It must be remembered that the Act provided for the election of representatives from Natal, O.F.S. and Transvaal—provinces whose African population had previously not been represented in any way. Under the Act the Africans in those Northern provinces had to be organised into various committees for the purpose of electing their representative. Not only this, but these various newly-founded political organizations had to be regarded by Europeans as legitimate, not subversive. This opportunity for—even stimulus to—political organization is perhaps the most important and significant feature of the whole Act. And the only piece of relevant information occurs in one paragraph of Senator Rheinallt Jones's introduction: "Special representation has quickened and developed the political consciousness of the African people. The opportunities it affords for expressing . . . . . the grievances and aspirations of the people, have served to crystallize their thoughts and to define their attitudes. This is particularly true of the farm labourers, who, until the new form of representation came into being, were just scattered units, helpless and leaderless." The implications of this statement serve to emphasize the need for more information about the effects of the Act in this respect. Have the Electoral Committees undertaken other functions besides the business of election? Have they remained alive during the five year period? Has any attempt been made to foster the development of these nuclear organizations, especially by linking them into broader units—district, regional, provincial, perhaps even national? Have the elected representatives observed the potentialities of these political units and attempted to assist their development?

A useful and necessary article should have been devoted to what might be called the social, geographical and physical factors affecting the business of representation. Presumably the representatives have to make and maintain contact with their constituents. How is this done? Can the representative communicate by letter? If so, can he correspond in English, or must his letters be translated into vernacular? Is there at least one educated African in each community who can communicate efficiently? Are there adequate writing materials and postal facilities? Is travelling by train to outlying constituencies possible? Are the roads of the Union sufficiently good and far-reaching to allow travelling by car where trains do not reach, and is road transport relatively expensive? Does the Government give the representatives assistance to visit their

colossal constituencies? Are there halls or shelters in every community where political meetings can be held? Can a European representative address a meeting of Africans in English, or must he be interpreted; if so, into how many vernaculars? All these and a host of similar questions indicate the stuff of which the system of Native representation is made; unless one has such information it is hardly possible to assess the Act.

Again, what are the political issues which concern and affect Africans? What subjects are raised when the elected representative meets his constituents? Is the African voter worried mainly about purely local matters, or has his political consciousness developed sufficiently to make questions of national policy predominant? Similarly, on what issues do the representatives defend the interests of Africans in Parliament? With the exception of a few stray remarks, no attempt is made anywhere in the symposium to describe and classify any of the issues involved, and the reader is left in the dark as to the sort of thing the Africans are wanting, and their representatives are advocating.

On the structure of and Parliamentary tactics involved in the Representation of Natives Act of 1936, and on the attitudes of some well-informed critics to the Act, the symposium offers sound and useful information. But a number of important practical effects of the Act, further useful information regarding its working, and any assessment of the effectiveness of the representation system as a whole are subjects which have by no means been exhausted.

JULIAN ROLLNICK.

Tsonga Law in the Transvaal. By T. D. RAMSAY. 1941. Pretoria: *Government Printer*. 33 pp. 2s. 6d.

Contributions to our knowledge of Native law are still so rare that each deserves a warm welcome. Mr. Ramsay's booklet certainly falls into this category. In a foreword Mr. Douglas Smit, the Secretary for Native Affairs, tells us that when Mr. Ramsay became Additional Native Commissioner for the Pilgrimsrest district some years ago, he found an almost complete lack of written information on the laws of the Tsonga tribes whose disputes he had to hear. "He therefore resolved to lay the groundwork for a statement of Tsonga law from a legal, not an ethnological point of view, and adapted to the lawyer's needs."

In this purpose the author has succeeded admirably. His work is neatly divided into 138 concise paragraphs, each of which states some general rule relating to marriage, dowry, adultery, seduction, kraalhead liability, lending of stock, maintenance, or inheritance. The material was gathered from chiefs and indunas and many old men; when differences of opinion between them were encountered, the points at issue were discussed in conference until agreement was reached. The decisions of the Native Appeal Court were also drawn on where they deal with Shangaan custom.

In his interesting introduction, Mr. Ramsay points out that it is wrong to refer to the Tsonga people as Shangaan because only the descendants of that portion which was subjugated by the Ngoni chief, Soshangana, take its name from him. This portion is situated mainly in the Pilgrimsrest district (except for Tshangana still resident in Portuguese East Africa), and among its member Tsonga law is modified by Zulu influence, which has, however, waned considerably since the Zulu conquest. Traces of Zulu influence are also to be found among Tsonga in the Letaba district and, in a lesser degree, in the communities of Louis Trichardt and Sibasa. The Kutswe people in the Pilgrimsrest area have, through long association with the Nhlanganu, also come to adopt Tsonga custom.

Mr. Ramsay found it difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain "original law," meaning by this term "pure" Tsonga custom prior to the Zulu conquest. Owing to admixture of the tribes in the course of migration and settlement, many chiefs and headmen have departed from original custom and have introduced elements borrowed from neighbours belonging to other groups or invented by themselves. The author rightly says that the law as we find it now should be applied,

In view of this opinion, expressed in the introduction, it is surprising to find Mr. Ramsay, in several places in his text, contrasting "strict" or "true" custom with present-day practice in such a way as to suggest that it is the former that is the law, not the latter (paragraphs 62, 87, 94, and 39). Indeed, he does not seem to realize that this evidence of culture contact raises the whole question of what is Native custom in a changing society. Should the Courts apply only ancient custom or should they recognize and enforce modern variations? Did we intend to recognize Native law as it was in 1927, the year when recognition was granted by Parliament, or as it was in 1907 or 1887, or as it became in 1937? In the absence of any effort to keep the law abreast of changing times by means of legislation, the Courts are here confronted with a social problem of the first importance. The Native Appeal Court has hitherto tended to frown on departures from old custom even when these are widely practised in a particular district; but this tendency will hardly encourage in the Natives respect for its judgments. J.L.

Problems of Urban Bantu Youth. By ELLEN HELLMANN. Johannesburg: *S.A. Institute of Race Relations*. 1940. pp. 151. 3s.

Dr. Hellmann's thesis on the problems of urban Bantu youth has added to the increasing evidence which is being made available with regard to the disabilities under which the urban African is labouring during this period of social transition. The thesis is divided into two sections: a statement of the problem, which she regards largely as an educational one, and a review of occupations available to Bantu juveniles. This is the right approach. Education and opportunities for employment must be linked in the plans for the solution of present difficulties. At all costs we must seek to minimise the problem already becoming evident in this country, as it has become a tragedy in India, of the educated or semi-educated for whom congenial occupation cannot be found.

Dr. Hellmann's analysis of the social, economic and educational position in towns is carefully documented, and although of necessity she had to work on small sample groups, her findings support those of other investigators, with the heartening qualification that the number of schools has increased in the last two years, and these have included the establishment in Johannesburg of two Government Secondary Schools. As a result, the number of children who can be accommodated in school is higher than the 40 per cent estimated in 1940.

Dr. Hellmann gives full weight to the economic disabilities of the average urban African home, where the monthly wage for a man has not varied much from a little over £4 in the last twelve years, and the mother is compelled to go out to work, the result being both physical exhaustion for her and lack of supervision for her home. At the same time she rightly indicates that the main problem in connection with the lack of education is not that children cannot, but that they will not, attend school. To provide control to replace the discipline once enforced by the elders of the kraal, the only method appears to be the introduction in all large industrial areas of compulsory free education, to be continued until the age of sixteen, or until a certain standard of proficiency is attained. The second problem is that children who do attend school suffer to a large extent from inferior teaching. The present salary scales and absence of pension facilities in a profession where men and woman are supposed to set a standard for the community, force many to relinquish the work of their choice. Too many well-paid African clerical posts are occupied by teachers compelled for financial reasons to give up their school work. A third reason for the lack of interest in schools, and one to which more prominence might have been given in this study, is the fact that education is not sufficiently practical. The upper standards at least should be provided with more functional and vocational education. The 19th century disparagement of practical as opposed to classical education has infected the African as well as the European mind, and must be eliminated in an age in which industrial opportunity is likely to increase more than in previous generations. If discipline and develop-

ment are to be possible for the urban African community, education must be compulsory and continuous and must issue in employment. The establishment of Juvenile Affairs Boards for African children would inevitably have to be part of a revised educational scheme.

In the experience of one municipal employment bureau, juveniles, totally unequipped for work, refuse any form of occupation unless they are offered a wage in the neighbourhood of £1 per week. At the same time, they refuse to return to school. In Johannesburg a vocational school for boys and domestic training classes for girls have been sponsored by the Municipality and are at present in operation. These are an attempt to make a beginning at coping with the need to attract the older child to a school which will offer training to practical ends.

It is difficult not to view pessimistically the present position when one becomes engulfed in the detail of poverty and lack of opportunity. Unfortunately, it is the tragedy that is always emphasized. The normal is taken for granted. If there be any criticism of Dr. Hellmann's study, it is that she has not indicated sufficiently the positive side of the picture. A growing number of people, through increasing housing and other facilities, are living in decent surroundings. To many difficulty has been more of a challenge than a destroying force and these people realize that in the end the salvation of the African nation must come from within.

It is not generally true that "Native juveniles trudge drearily from factory to factory, business house to house in search of work." Perhaps the most healthy sign of a developing public conscience amongst urban African adults has been the evidence of a righteous indignation in the minds of a section of the responsible members of the community, who, subject to robbery and assault, both in the townships and on the trains, from gangs of organised juvenile delinquents, are beginning to ask what they themselves are doing, as parents, to raise the standard of public opinion amongst their own people.

We have to be careful in presenting the African case that we do not weaken the moral fibre of the people by too much gratuitous sympathy. The pictures illustrating the study emphasise this point. The photographs represent places outside the Municipality, areas that have been cleared under the Slums Act, and one township which grew up fortuitously before the days of controlled housing. The geographical background of the majority of town African children in Johannesburg is better than the visual impression gained from the illustrations.

Dr. Hellmann's suggestions with regard to wages, pass laws, trades unions, freehold tenure, as well as those in connection with education, are all at present receiving to some degree the specific attention of the Government or of local authorities. Dr. Hellmann's biggest contribution in this and other studies has been to focus attention on the need for investigation and action.

M.J.

Notes on the Noun-classes of Some Bantu Languages of Ngamiland. By I. SCHAPERA and D. F. VAN DER MERWE. *Communications from the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town.* No. 2. 1942. pp. 103 (roneoed) 7s. 6d.

During an anthropological research trip to the BaTawana Reserve of the Bechuanaland Protectorate during 1940, Professor Schapera collected various vocabularies and grammatical notes on a number of hitherto unrecorded or little-recorded Bantu languages of the area. In this paper Dr. van der Merwe has arranged and presented the material dealing with Yeei, Subiya, Gova, and Gcereku, and made it available to the comparative worker.

Regarding Yeei (or Kuba) we have hitherto only had short vocabularies by David Livingstone, C. J. Andersson and S. Passarge, and Schapera's new material should make it possible to classify definitely this interesting click-using language. From tentative investigation of the material it it seems highly probable that Yeei belongs to the Western Zone of Bantu, forming a fifth group (the other four being (1) Mbundu, (2) Eastern, e.g. Mbunda, Luchazi, Nkoya, Mbwela, (3) Ambo, (4) Herero). Considerable detailed study

of the material is, however, necessary before this can be definitely confirmed.

Subiya, one of the three main languages of the Zambesi group of the Central Bantu Zone (the other two being Luyi and Leya), was first mentioned by Livingstone as early as 1851; then in 1896 E. Jacottet gave very considerable details regarding its grammar in his *Études sur les La Langues du Haut-Zembèze*, as well as many texts.

Gova or Mbukusu may be, as H. H. Johnston suggested, connected with Luyi of the Zambesi group, but here again extensive research upon the material is needed. Passarge's 1905 and Johnston's vocabularies seem to be the only previous ones on this dialect.

Gcereku seems to be an entirely new recording on the part of Schapera. Though there is a click in the name of this language only four stems in the language are recorded as containing clicks. It may be connected with Kwanyama of the Ambo group of Western Bantu.

This publication is to be warmly commended. If all anthropological field-workers had their linguistic collections dealt with in some such way as this, especially when concerned with little-known languages, a great amount of valuable material would be recorded and preserved. It is evident that much more work is required upon this before us, especially upon the Yeei, Gova and Gcereku, in order to ensure correct classification. The present reviewer has not had the necessary leisure to submit the material to the detailed comparative study which is still required upon it.

C.M.D.

Sotho-Afrikaanse Woordeboek. Deur T. J. Kriel. Pretoria: *van Schaik*. 219 pp. 1942. 4s. 6d.

The title of this work should have made it clear that the vocabulary is concerned with Northern Sotho. Kriel's vocabulary provides a useful companion to T. Endemann's grammatical work, *Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho*, and reflects the growing interest of Afrikaans scholarship in the Sotho group of Bantu languages. Many lexicographers in Bantu have studiously excluded modern foreign acquisitions, but the author of this work is to be commended on his inclusion of many such words derived from English and Afrikaans sources. These words are an accepted and necessary part of modern Bantu languages and must be included. It is to be regretted that he has not got away from the Sotho tradition of listing the noun entries under the initial consonant of their prefixes. A great deal of duplication and of separation of kindred words would be avoided if entries were according to the stem and not the prefix. Bantu languages demand treatment in lexicography according to definite principles, and the most important of these, dealing with the method of listing should apply even to a vocabulary such as this.

The book contains much useful information, however, and will be of value to the learner of Northern Sotho as well as to Sotho learner of Afrikaans, for whose benefit the author has prepared it. The publishers are to be congratulated on a very presentable and handy publication.

C.M.D.

Man Makes Himself. By V. Gordon Childe. London: *Watts*. 1941. 242 pp. 2s. 6d.

It is unfortunately true that most specialists in the science of Prehistory lack the capacity to write for the general reader. We are therefore more indebted to Professor Childe for this lucid and readable outline of human progress from the earliest prehistoric times, and to the publishers for this new cheap edition. In an introductory chapter the author is careful to point out that by "progress" he means merely the manner in which mankind has adapted itself to its circumstances in order to survive, and takes as his criterion for judging the success of a social or economic innovation the effect that innovation has on the survival of the species. While it is true, as Prof. Childe point out, that approval or disapproval of new developments is unscientific inasmuch as it depends on subjective judgments rather than objective observation, it is at least open to serious question whether "progress" can be evaluated purely in terms of biological success of the

human species without reference to human happiness.

Most accounts of the prehistoric period are cold and academic. In reading *Man Makes Himself* we share in the struggles of real living peoples to wrest a subsistence from their often hostile environment. That they succeeded in this is shown to be due to man's amazing capacity for adaptation which enables him to survive in steaming tropics and arctic wastes, in deserts and on lakes and seas. In prehistoric times, it enabled him to survive radical changes in his climatic environment which wiped out less adaptable animals. Indeed, material culture has been defined as " man's adaptation of his environment to his needs " and this statement epitomises the theme of this book.

After defining the scope of the book and discussing such questions as the relationship between human and natural history and the significance of evolution, the remainder of the book is devoted to an account of the major steps of man's economic development from simple food-gatherers to food-producers, and eventually to specialisation in production and distribution. The crafts developed in neolithic times, such as agriculture, the domestication of animals, weaving and pottery are seen not as isolated discoveries but are evaluated in true perspective as factors in man's economic adaptations and development. We are even given a glimpse of the social and psychological development from which these new human abilities sprang and the advances to which they in turn led.

So vast a field can obviously not be treated in any detail within the compass of one small book, but this is to the advantage of the general reader for whom it is intended. It says much for the scholarly treatment that in spite of the omission of detail and occasional generalisation, the picture is complete and satisfying. It is not a text-book, and for those who desire to delve more deeply a useful bibliography on each chapter is appended.

In these times such a book as this has a special value apart from the information it contains. In the words of the author, " It is hoped that a consideration of revolutions, so remote that it is impossible to get angry or enthusiastic about them, may help to vindicate the idea of progress against sentimentalists and mystics." Moreover, it is a challenge to humanity ; if Man makes himself, the moulding of the future of mankind rests with himself and the onus is on Man to see to his own future. B.D.M.

SWAHILI PHONETICS

The article on Swahili phonetics by Dr. A. N. Tucker and Mrs. E. O. Ashton, which appeared in our June and September numbers, has been reprinted as a booklet. Copies can now be had for 2s. 6d. each (postage 2d.).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

African Family Life. Report of Christian Council Conference, Pretoria, 1940. 66 pp. (roneoed). 1s.

The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an America Standpoint. A study by the Committee on Africa, the war, and peace aims. 1942. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund. 164 pp. With supplement, Events in African History, compiled by Edwin W. Smith. 67 pp. $1.

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VERNACULAR:

Kima le Kxalô le Mešitô ya Dirêtô (Accent, Intonation and Poetic Diction) by P. E. Schewllnus. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers, 1942. pp. 84. 2s. 6d.

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